



PERSONNEL AND  
READINESS

**UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE**  
4000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-4000

APR 8 2010

Ms. Nadhira Al-Khalili Esq.  
Legal Counsel  
Council on American-Islamic Relations  
453 New Jersey Avenue, S.E.  
Washington, DC 20003

Dear Ms. Al-Khalili,

Thank you for your letter to the Secretary of Defense concerning the alleged harassment of a Muslim Soldier assigned to Fort Hood, TX. These matters are under my purview as the Under Secretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness, and I have been asked to respond.

The Department thanks you for raising this issue and for your suggestions on additional measures to raise force awareness. As part of the Fort Hood Follow-on Review Task Force, the Department is conducting a detailed review of existing policies. This review is being lead by the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Homeland Defense and American Security Affairs and will conclude later this year. I have forwarded a copy of your letter to him for consideration during the review.

I have referred your letter to the Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Army for Manpower and Reserve Affairs in separate correspondence and requested a thorough review of the specific allegations raised at Fort Hood. Based on the results of the Army's review, we will determine appropriate corrective actions as necessary. You may follow up on your concerns by contacting the investigating office at:

Office of the Assistance Secretary of the Army  
for Manpower and Reserve Affairs  
111 Army Pentagon, Room 2E460  
Washington, DC 20310-0111



I appreciate your interest in the fair treatment and welfare of the members of the Armed Forces. Again, thank your concern and suggestions.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Clifford L. Stanley". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Clifford L. Stanley

cc:  
ASD(HD&ASA)  
ASA(M&RA)



PERSONNEL AND  
READINESS

**UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE**  
4000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-4000

APR 8 2010

**MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE ARMY  
(MANPOWER AND RESERVE AFFAIRS)**

**SUBJECT: Allegations of Harassment of Muslim Soldier**

The attached letter addressed to the Secretary of Defense concerns alleged harassment of a Muslim Soldier assigned to Fort Hood, TX. The letter is from the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) on behalf of Army Specialist Zachari Klawonn. Additionally, a related article titled, "Serving His Country, Testing His Faith," appeared in the March 24, 2010, edition of the Early Bird.

I am referring the letter to you for a fair, thorough, and prompt examination of the CAIR allegations and a review of existing instructions relating to religious discrimination and harassment. Within 30 days of beginning your work, please provide a summary of actions taken to resolve this matter and if appropriate, to prevent occurrences of similar situations at other Army installations or within other Army units to Mr. Clarence A. Johnson, Principal Director, Office of Diversity Management and Equal Opportunity. Please submit a final report to Mr. Johnson following completion of your review.

If you need additional information, please contact Mr. Johnson by telephone at (b)(6) or by e-mail at (b)(6)

Clifford L. Stanley

**Attachment:**  
As stated

**cc:**  
ASD(HD&ASA)





OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-2400

JUN 17 2010

INTERNATIONAL  
SECURITY AFFAIRS

Reverend Canon Peg Chamberlin, President  
National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA  
475 Riverside Drive, Suite 800  
New York, NY 10115-0050

Dear Reverend Canon Chamberlin:

Thank for your letter to Secretary Gates regarding your concerns over violence against Iraqi religious minority groups. I am responding on his behalf.

The Department of State is the agency principally responsible for promoting international religious freedom. The Department of Defense (DoD) is focused on developing a responsive, professional, and non-sectarian security force to protect all Iraqis. DoD will continue to encourage the Government of Iraq (GoI) to recruit minority members into Iraq's police and other security forces, particularly in northern areas where minority religious groups are concentrated.

In addition, the U.S. Ambassador and the U.S. Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) in Ninewa meet frequently with minority political and religious leaders to directly echo their concerns to the highest levels of the GoI. Following the February attacks on Christians in Ninewa, we were pleased to see the GoI's official spokesman, Ali al-Dabagh, immediately announce the establishment of a "Committee for Expedited Investigation and Follow-up on the Targeting of Christians in Ninewa." This committee, he explained, would authorize additional security measures to protect Christians, their property, and their religious establishments. In addition, he pledged investigations of those who manned the check points near where the attacks occurred. As a result of the violence, we were also encouraged to see Iraq's High Electoral Commission rapidly respond by providing additional polling stations for recently displaced Christians for the March 7 elections.

Moving forward, the U.S. Government will also continue to focus on efforts to promote Iraqi-led reconciliation efforts. We believe that such efforts hold great promise in the long run, as demonstrated by the minorities themselves in gatherings such as the recent conference of Christian bishops in Karakosh and other venues.

IRAQ

(26 APR 10)

Again, thank you for sharing your thoughts and concerns.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Colin Kahl', written in a cursive style.

**Colin Kahl**  
**Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense**  
**International Security Affairs**  
**Middle East**



OFFICE OF THE UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
4000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-4000

SEP 16 2010

PERSONNEL AND  
READINESS

Mr. Michael C. Noyes  
Staff Assistant  
Office of Senator Susan M. Collins  
202 Harlow Street, Room 204  
Bangor ME 04401

Dear Mr. Noyes:

Thank you for your letter of September 2, 2010, on behalf of Reverend (b)(6) a constituent of Senator Collins. Your letter was forwarded to this office for response.

Reverend (b)(6) indicated a concern that a prohibition was published within the Department of Defense against the distribution of Bibles to members of the military Services.

Policy on the accommodation of religious practices within the Department of Defense (DOD) is delineated in DOD Directive 1300.17. That Directive cites in part, that "The Department of Defense places a high value on the rights of members of the Armed Forces to observe the tenets of their respective religions. It is DoD policy that requests for accommodation of religious practices should be approved by commanders when accommodation will not have an adverse impact on military readiness, unit cohesion, standards, or discipline."

Accordingly, there is no Department prohibition against chaplains giving Bibles, or any other faith's sacred writings, to Service Members during deployment. However, some Service Members come into the military and do not possess a copy of scripture or possibly left it at home. While Service Chaplains are funded to provide various materials for services (including copies of scripture as required), many agencies make efforts to augment availability, to provide personal copies of scriptures for those who desire such. The American Bible Society, which you cite, is one such organization, which solicits funds from the American public to provide personal Bibles for Service Members. Chaplains, who are the primary conduit for the Service Members, do an exemplary job of getting the donated Bibles sent by such agencies into the hands of the Service Members who ask for them.

Thank you for your interest in the spiritual welfare of the men and women of our Armed Forces. I trust this letter provides the answers to your concerns.

Sincerely,

William J. Carr  
Deputy Under Secretary  
(Military Personnel Policy)



**THE JOINT STAFF**  
WASHINGTON, DC

28 OCT 2009

Mr. [REDACTED]

(b)(6)

[REDACTED]  
(b)(6)

Toledo, OR 97391-2001

Dear Mr. [REDACTED]

(b)(6)

The Assistant Secretary of Defense for Legislative Affairs has forwarded your e-mail to Senator Wyden that expressed concern over Soldiers allegedly proselytizing the citizens of Afghanistan.

A review of this matter indicates there is no evidence that "proselytizing is rampant" as your letter suggests. Your concern is derived from a series of actual events that occurred more than a year ago. During a sanctioned bible study conducted by an Army chaplain in May 2008, a Soldier attempted to distribute bibles received as a gift from home. The bibles were written in the indigenous languages of Afghanistan, Pashtu and Dari. The Soldier asked participants to distribute the bibles to the Afghan people. In accordance with standing orders, the chaplain immediately confiscated the bibles. The chaplain explained that distribution of the bibles or any other religious literature designed to proselytize was in direct violation of a portion of U.S. Central Command's General Order 1B (GO-1B), "Prohibited Activities for U.S. Department of Defense Personnel Present Within the United States Central Command Area of Responsibility." Sections of this order state that Service members are prohibited from "proselytizing of any religion, faith, or practice."

Per GO-1B, "Current operations and deployments place United States Armed Forces within USCENTCOM AOR countries whose local laws and customs may prohibit or restrict various activities that are generally permissible in western societies. Adhering to restrictions upon such activities is essential to preserving U.S./host nation relations and ensuring the success of combined operations between U.S. and friendly forces." GO-1B is specifically designed to identify and regulate conduct that is prejudicial to the maintenance of good order and discipline of forces in this part of the world and serves to prevent our adversaries from exploiting negative information about our Service members that could be used to inflame anti-American sentiment among the Afghan people specifically, and the Muslim world in general.

Your concern and support of our men and women in uniform are greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "B. E. Grooms". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "B" and a long, sweeping underline.

**B. E. GROOMS**  
**RADM, USN**  
**Vice Director, Joint Staff**

Copy to:  
Senator Wyden

JOSEPH I. LIEBERMAN, CONNECTICUT, CHAIRMAN

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MICHAEL L. ALEXANDER, STAFF DIRECTOR  
BRANDON L. MILHORN, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR AND CHIEF COUNSEL

# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON  
HOMELAND SECURITY AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS  
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6250

January 13, 2010

The Honorable Robert M. Gates  
Secretary  
U.S. Department of Defense  
1000 Defense Pentagon, Room 3E718  
Washington, DC 20301

Dear Secretary Gates:

The Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs has initiated an investigation into the events surrounding the November 5, 2009, shootings at Fort Hood, Texas, pursuant to the Committee's authority under Rule XXV(K)(1) of the Standing Rules of the Senate, Section 101 of S. Res. 445 (108th Congress), and Section 12 of S. Res. 73 (111th Congress). The purpose of our investigation is to assess the information the U.S. Government had prior to the shootings and the actions it took in response to that information. Ultimately, the investigation will identify the steps necessary to protect the United States against future acts of terrorism by homegrown violent Islamist extremists.

We are committed to completing a comprehensive fact-finding investigation concerning the U.S. Government's failure to identify Major Nidal Malik Hasan as a possible threat and to take action that may have prevented the attacks. Even at this stage of our investigation, however, it has become apparent to us that DoD's approach to the threat of servicemembers who adopt a violent Islamist extremist ideology needs to be revised. Updating that approach will protect from suspicion the thousands of Muslim-Americans who serve honorably in the U.S. military and maintain the bonds of trust among servicemembers of all religions which is so essential to our military's effectiveness.

I. DoD Should Update Its Approach to Extremism in the Ranks Given the Threat of Homegrown Terrorism Inspired by Violent Islamist Extremism.

During the past four years, our Committee has conducted an extensive investigation of the threat facing the United States from homegrown terrorism inspired by violent Islamist extremism. The Committee's work makes clear – particularly in light of the increased number of attacks, plots, and arrests during 2009 – that the threat of homegrown terrorism inspired by violent Islamist extremism has evolved and is expanding. In over a dozen incidents in 2009, U.S. citizens or residents sought to mount an attack within the United States, including one who shot two Army recruiters in Arkansas, a number who apparently fought for al-Shaabab in Somalia, seven men in North Carolina who allegedly planned to attack the Marine base in



Quantico, Virginia, and several who plotted to bomb a synagogue in New York City. The violent Islamist terrorist threat includes individuals who self-radicalize by visiting Internet websites or reading other propaganda that promotes terrorist causes, *i.e.*, without any connection to or affiliation with an established or recognized group. Efforts to detect and disrupt terrorist activity are complicated when these self-radicalized terrorists operate as "lone wolves."

This Committee and senior Executive Branch officials have identified domestic violent Islamist extremism as a rising threat. As Secretary of Homeland Security Janet Napolitano recently stated, "We've seen an increased number of arrests here in the U.S. of individuals suspected of plotting terrorist attacks, or supporting terror groups abroad such as al Qaeda. Homegrown terrorism is here. And, like violent extremism abroad, it will be part of the threat picture that we must now confront."

The Department has previously adopted policies to address servicemembers engaged in certain violent extremist activities. Policies exist that address servicemembers who become involved in both racist activities and criminal gangs. However, there have been cases of servicemembers becoming radicalized to violent Islamist extremism, including Sergeant Hasan Akbar, who murdered fellow servicemembers at Camp Pennsylvania in Kuwait in 2003. Given these events, and the increasing incidence of violent Islamist extremism in the United States, the Department must revisit its policies and procedures to ensure that violent radicalization, whether based on violent Islamist extremist doctrine or other causes, can be identified and action taken to prevent attacks before they occur.

Exhibiting signs of violent extremist views, behaviors, or affiliations, including those associated with violent Islamist extremism, is incompatible with military service and access to classified or sensitive information. An April 2005 report by DoD's Defense Personnel Security Research Center, *Screening for Potential Terrorists in the Enlisted Military Accessions Process*, concluded that "the allegiance to the U.S. and the willingness to defend its Constitution must be questioned of anyone who materially supports or ideologically advocates the legitimacy of Militant Jihadism" and that "determination of participation in or support or advocacy of Militant Jihadist groups and their ideologies should be grounds for denial of acceptance into the Armed Forces of the U.S. and denial of access to classified or sensitive information." As seen in the cases of Major Hasan and Sergeant Akbar, the adoption of violent Islamist extremism has been associated with violence against military personnel and other Americans.

We believe that DoD's approach to countering the threat of violent extremism by servicemembers needs to be updated to reflect the current threat of homegrown violent Islamist extremism faced by the United States. Even though we have not completed our investigation of Major Hasan's conduct and his colleagues' and commanders' response to him specifically, we make the following recommendations based on our knowledge of the overall threat of homegrown violent Islamist extremism, our careful review of relevant DoD and Army policies, and interviews and testimony of former high-ranking DoD personnel, intelligence, and military officials and briefings by current officials. We may supplement these recommendations based on the specific facts of Major Hasan's case and on additional information.

II. DoD Should Increase Training of DoD Personnel Concerning Violent Islamist Extremism.

Increased training of servicemembers at all levels – from enlisted personnel to commanders – is needed to ensure that they can understand the warning signs of violent Islamist extremism. Such training will need to be crafted carefully and will likely need to vary by rank. Training should include:

- Why exhibiting violent Islamist extremist views, behaviors, or affiliations is incompatible with military service and access to classified or sensitive information.
- The process of violent radicalization, including the warning signs of violent Islamist extremism.
- Servicemembers who exhibit signs of violent Islamist extremist views, behaviors, or affiliations are not necessarily members of any established or recognized group. Instead, the servicemember could be a “lone wolf,” having undergone a process of self-radicalization via Internet sites, literature, or videos.
- What violent Islamist extremism is, and how terrorists distort the Islamic faith to promote violence.

Existing DoD policies provide some authority for commanders and other appropriate officials to respond to servicemembers that exhibit signs of violent extremist views, behaviors, or affiliations. However, commanders should be trained to apply such policies to servicemembers who exhibit signs of violent Islamist extremism and to recognize those signs in a specific servicemember. Relevant policies include but are not limited to:

- Army Regulation 600-20, *Army Command Policy*: This policy gives every commander broad discretion to prohibit activities by servicemembers in order to preserve good order, discipline, and morale. Training should ensure that commanders are aware that exhibiting signs of violent Islamist extremist views, behaviors, or affiliations by a servicemember would constitute a threat to good order, discipline, and morale. The training should explain the difference between religious faith and observance, on the one hand, and violent extremist views, behaviors, and affiliations on the other – albeit recognizing that warning signs of extremist views, behaviors, and affiliations should not be ignored just because they are comingled with religious faith or observance.
- DoD Directive 1332.30, *Separation of Regular and Reserve Commissioned Officers*: Training of DoD personnel should clarify that exhibiting violent Islamist extremist views, behaviors, or affiliations by an officer would constitute substandard “attitude or character” for which separation from military service may result.

III. DoD Should Revise its Policies to Address Violent Extremism Generally and Violent Islamist Extremism in Particular.

Other DoD policies should be revised to address servicemembers who exhibit violent extremist views, behaviors, or affiliations, including those associated with violent Islamist extremism.

The Department should update DoD Instruction 1325.06, *Guidelines for Handling Dissident and Protest Activities Among Members of the Armed Forces*. The Department originally issued the Instruction in response to Vietnam-era anti-war activities by servicemembers and has updated the Instruction to address servicemembers involved in supremacist activities and criminal gangs. The most recent version of the Instruction prohibits not only servicemember participation in certain organizations but also prohibits “actively advocat[ing] supremacist doctrine, ideology, or causes.” The inclusion of active advocacy broadens the instruction to cover situations in which a servicemember acts alone without involvement with a group. However, the history of the Instruction, combined with the common understanding of the term “supremacist,” suggests that the prohibition is limited to racial extremism. Accordingly, the Instruction should be broadened so that it clearly applies to other types of violent extremism, including violent Islamist extremism.

The Army also should update its Pamphlet 600-15, *Extremist Activities*. This pamphlet, issued in response to the racially-motivated murders committed by servicemembers at Fort Bragg in 1995 and DoD’s subsequent revision of Instruction 1325.06 in 1996, is heavily oriented toward supremacist activities and other racial extremism. The pamphlet should be expanded to address servicemembers who exhibit signs of violent Islamist extremist views, behaviors, or affiliations. Accordingly, the Army should revise the pamphlet to discuss signs of such views, behaviors, or affiliations. In doing so, the Army should specify that servicemembers who exhibit signs of violent Islamist extremist views, behaviors, or affiliations, may do so as the result of self-radicalization or as “lone wolves.” The Army should also consider how the Instruction should be revised to prospectively address future threats from other violent extremist ideologies. The other Services should make corresponding changes to their policies and procedures.

#### IV. DoD Should Ensure that Servicemembers Report Signs of Violent Islamist Extremism.

The Department and the Services should also revise their policies to ensure that servicemembers have a clear obligation to report servicemembers who exhibit signs of violent Islamist extremist views, behaviors, or affiliations. As General Keane testified before our Committee, “It should not be an act of moral courage for a soldier to identify a fellow soldier who is displaying extremist behavior. It should be an obligation.”

DoD’s policies do not clearly require that servicemembers report other personnel who exhibit signs of violent Islamist extremist views, behaviors, or affiliations. Neither the version of DoD Instruction 1325.06 on extremism, *Guidelines for Handling Dissident and Protest Activities Among Members of the Armed Forces*, in effect before the Fort Hood shootings nor the revised directive issued in November 2009 contains a reporting obligation by servicemembers with respect to the types of activities covered by that Instruction. In addition, DoD Instruction 5240.6, entitled *Counterintelligence (CI) Awareness, Briefing, and Reporting Programs*, includes a requirement that servicemembers report “circumstances that could pose a threat to security of U.S. personnel, DoD resources, and classified national security information.” This

Instruction could be read to require reporting of violent Islamist extremist activities by servicemembers. However, the reporting requirements within this policy focus primarily on threats from foreign intelligence services and terrorist organizations. As such, the policy's main requirement is that DoD personnel report contacts with such organizations, not that they report personnel who exhibit signs of violent Islamist extremist views, behaviors, or affiliations. The Department should revise its policies to ensure that servicemembers understand they have an obligation to report personnel who exhibit signs of violent Islamist extremist views, behaviors, or affiliations.

Likewise, Army policies are vague regarding the extent of any obligation that Army personnel have to report other personnel who exhibit signs of violent Islamist extremist views, behaviors, or affiliations. Army Pamphlet 600-15 contains a brief reference to servicemembers needing to "report specific indicators [of extremism] to the chain of command." But the Pamphlet does not detail an individual servicemembers' reporting obligations or sanctions for noncompliance, and thus contrasts to the highly structured reporting obligation for subversion and espionage under Army Regulation 381-12, *Subversion and Espionage Directed Against the U.S. Army (SAEDA)*. However, even Army Regulation 381-12 does not appear to require that Army personnel report other personnel who exhibit signs of violent Islamist extremist views, behaviors, or affiliations. For example:

- Army Regulation 381-12's requirements for reporting "contacts by [Army] personnel with persons whom they know or suspect to be members of or associated with...terrorist organizations" and "active attempts to encourage military or civilian employees to violate laws, disobey lawful orders or regulations, or disrupt military activities" do not seem to address servicemembers who merely exhibit signs of violent Islamist extremist views, behaviors, or affiliations and do not encourage other servicemembers to take any specific actions.
- Army Regulation 381-12 also requires reporting of "information concerning any international or domestic terrorist activity or sabotage that poses an actual or potential threat to Army or other U.S. facilities, activities, personnel, or resources." However, signs of violent Islamist extremist views, behaviors, or affiliations prior to any indication of terrorist activity or sabotage would not appear to trigger this reporting requirement.

Accordingly, the Army needs to revise its policies to clearly and unequivocally require that servicemembers report fellow servicemembers who exhibit signs of violent Islamist extremist views, behaviors, or affiliations. Concomitantly, the Army needs to ensure that its personnel receive training that clearly outlines their obligation to report indicators of violent Islamist extremist views, behaviors, or affiliation. The training should explain how such activities differ from the exercise of religious faith, including the practice of Islam. The other Services also should clearly require that their servicemembers report signs of violent Islamist extremist views, behaviors, or affiliations and provide training.

The threat posed by servicemembers who exhibit signs of violent Islamist extremist views, behaviors, or affiliations raises both personnel and counterintelligence / subversion concerns. The extremism policies referenced above are promulgated by the Undersecretary of

Defense for Personnel and Readiness and the Deputy Chief of Staff of the Army for Personnel while the counterintelligence/subversion policies referenced above are promulgated by the Undersecretary of Defense for Intelligence and the Deputy Chief of Staff of the Army for Intelligence. Senior Department and Service officials should ensure sufficient coordination between the personnel and the counterintelligence/ subversion components of their organizations to ensure that violent Islamist extremism among servicemembers is handled appropriately.

\* \* \*

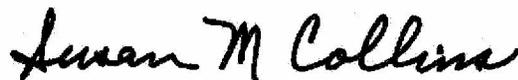
Clearly, violent Islamist extremism is highly distinct from Islam, and thousands of Muslim-Americans serve honorably in the military. We believe that the changes recommended above will not serve to increase scrutiny of these servicemembers' religious beliefs or practices or to cause tension with their colleagues. To the contrary: we believe that the opposite will occur. Efforts by DoD to educate its personnel concerning what violent Islamist extremism is and what the warning signs of such extremism are – as distinguished from the practice of the Islamic faith – will increase trust between the thousands of Muslim-Americans serving honorably and their colleagues. Clear policies and training should foster greater respect for Muslim-Americans who serve in the military. We trust that, given the sensitivity of this issue, DoD will proceed to make the revisions and changes outlined in this letter in a manner that seeks to avoid unintended consequences and interpretations of its new policies and training.

We understand that the Department's initial review concerning the Fort Hood shooting is scheduled to conclude on January 15, 2010. We understand that the initial review will focus on the military's personnel evaluation system; we plan to review that system in the course of our full investigation. We assume that the Department's overall review will assess the adequacy of the Department's approach to violent Islamist extremism among DoD personnel and hope that our recommendations as outlined above will be helpful to your review. As mentioned above, we will continue our investigation and may make further recommendations in this area based on the specific facts concerning Major Hasan and any additional information.

Sincerely,



Joseph I. Lieberman  
Chairman



Susan M. Collins  
Ranking Member



House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515

BOB INGLIS  
4TH DISTRICT, SOUTH CAROLINA

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

April 27, 2010

The Honorable Robert Gates  
Secretary of Defense  
1000 Defense Pentagon  
Washington, DC 20301-0001

Dear Secretary Gates,

I am writing to express my dismay with the Army's recent decision to withdraw its invitation to evangelical leader Franklin Graham.

Franklin Graham had been scheduled to participate in the Pentagon's special prayer service as part of the National Day of Prayer Task Force. However, the Army withdrew Graham's invitation because of his views on Islam and his clear articulation of a Christian perspective.

According to Army spokesman, Col. Thomas Collins, Graham's remarks were "not appropriate. We're an all-inclusive military. We honor all faiths. ... Our message to our service and civilian work force is about the need for diversity and appreciation of all faiths."

The Army's all-inclusive stance should create ample space for Franklin Graham's articulation of an orthodox, evangelical Christian perspective. Graham has indicated his love, respect, and best wishes for the Muslim *people* but has indicated his serious disagreement with key aspects of the content of their *belief*.

I agree that all *people* are equal under law; I believe we should have vibrant discussions regarding the merits and weaknesses of our various *beliefs*. The Constitution and First Amendment protects our freedoms of religion and expression—even our freedom to clearly articulate unpopular views.

The Army should reconsider its decision and alter its policy to allow Franklin Graham's participation the Pentagon's prayer service.

Thank you for your attention to this matter. I look forward to your response.

Sincerely,

Bob Inglis

WASHINGTON, DC  
100 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, DC 20515  
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FAX: (202) 226-1177

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OSD 05516-10



**TRENT FRANKS**  
ARIZONA

1237 LONGWORTH BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, DC 20515  
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JUDICIARY COMMITTEE  
RANKING MEMBER  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE CONSTITUTION

SUBCOMMITTEE ON  
COMMERCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE LAW

ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON STRATEGIC FORCES

SUBCOMMITTEE ON READINESS

7121 W. BELL ROAD, SUITE 200  
GLENDALE, AZ 85308  
(623) 776-7911

# Congress of the United States

Washington, DC

[www.house.gov/franks](http://www.house.gov/franks)

May 5, 2010

The Honorable Robert Gates  
Secretary of Defense  
1000 Defense Pentagon  
Washington, DC 20301-1000

Dear Secretary Gates,

We write to express our great concern over the decision made by Army Secretary John McHugh and Army Chief of Staff Gen. George W. Casey Jr. to rescind an invitation to Reverend Franklin Graham to speak at the National Day of Prayer on May 6th, 2010, due to complaints raised and publicized by two special interest groups that object to his Christian beliefs and his criticisms of the Islamic faith. We find this decision misguided for several reasons.

Army spokesman Col. Tom Collins is quoted as saying that Secretary McHugh and General Casey decided "it would be inappropriate for [Reverend Graham] to participate in this inclusive event" because of Graham's comments about Islam.

From its founding, America has possessed a rich heritage of affirming religious expression in the lives of the men and women serving in the armed forces. Indeed, America's founders and a long line of national and military leaders have realized that the strength of America's military lies in the depth of its faith. Commander-in-Chief George Washington regularly issued orders for military troops to attend and participate in religious gatherings. Declaration signer John Witherspoon, a member of the Board of War that oversaw military operations throughout the Revolution, reminded soldiers: "[T]here is no soldier so undaunted as the pious man, no army so formidable as those who are superior to the fear of death."

It is thus intensely troubling that Pentagon officials have now taken it upon themselves to deign what type of Christian belief and expression is "appropriate," and then to censor a patriotic minister, whose own son is serving his fourth tour of duty in Afghanistan, simply because of the objection of an organization that has made it its mission to eradicate open expressions of religious faith from the military. It is highly ironic that it is in the name of religious freedom and "inclusiveness," peaceful religious expression is actually being stifled.

Reverend Graham is one of America's most respected religious leaders, and is beloved by millions of Americans. We understand that not everyone shares Reverend Graham's beliefs about Islam, but the essence of religious liberty is having the right to one's own religious convictions as well as the right to express them. We would like to know for the future by what standard the U.S. military is going to judge what are appropriate religious convictions? Our Founding Fathers understood that religious pluralism did not mean we didn't have disagreements about religion, but that we would disagree peaceably, something Franklin Graham has always done. But now, the U.S. military is putting itself in the position of judging what acceptable belief is. Might the Secretary explain to the Congress just how it will do this?

OSD 05754-10



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We do not believe that Reverend Graham's views of Islam should exclude him from this event. If our concept of religious freedom today is based primarily on the desire to placate or avoid criticism offered by suspect organizations, then our constitutional right of freedom of religion is devoid of both meaning and principle.

We ask that you reconsider the decision to revoke Reverend Graham's invitation, and extend to him the opportunity to preach his welcome message to the men and women of our armed forces, and indeed to the Nation at the National Day of Prayer event at the Pentagon.

We look forward to hearing from you very soon.

Sincerely,

cc: President Barack Obama  
John M. McHugh - Secretary of the Army  
Ray Mabus - Secretary of the Navy  
Michael B. Donley - Secretary of the Air Force  
Admiral Michael Mullen - Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff  
General James E. Cartwright - Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff  
General George W. Casey, Jr. - Chief of Staff of the United States Army  
Admiral Gary Roughead - Chief of Naval Operations  
General Norton A. Schwartz - Chief of Staff of the United States Air Force  
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# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-1904

202 Harlow St., Room 204  
Bangor, ME 04401  
September 2, 2010

The Honorable Robert M. Gates  
Secretary of Defense  
Attn: Elizabeth King  
Assistant Secretary of Defense  
For Legislative Affairs  
1300 Defense Pentagon  
Washington, DC 20301-1300

RE: Reverend Bruce Perron

Fax: (703)693-5530

Dear Secretary Gates:

Senator Collins has again been contacted by Reverend (b)(6), from Palmyra, Maine with a request for assistance.

Rev. (b)(6) is concerned that U.S. military personnel stationed in Muslim countries are not given access to Christian scriptures. He initially wrote to Senator Collins about this issue in November, 2001, and received a response from the Chief of the Chaplain's Office assuring him that enlistees in the U.S. Military have ready access to the Bible; However, Rev. (b)(6) believes that this is untrue. He points to a solicitation that was printed in the local telephone directory from the American Bible Society, asking for donations to allow them to provide Bibles to soldiers stationed in Iraq and Afghanistan. Rev. (b)(6) asked Senator Collins to write n his behalf, to inquire, once again, if deployed soldiers are given a Bible.

Senator Collins has a strong desire to be responsive to constituent inquiries. With this in mind, I have taken the liberty of forwarding a copy of Rev. (b)(6) letter to Senator Collins. I would appreciate your review of this matter and any assistance you can provide to assure Rev. (b)(6) that his concerns are being addressed.

Thank you in advance for your attention to this request. If you have any questions regarding this inquiry, please don't hesitate to contact me at (207)945-0417.

Sincerely,

  
Michael C. Noyes  
Staff Assistant to  
Susan M. Collins  
United States Senator

Attachment



**FRANK R. WOLF**  
10TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

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**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**

June 18, 2009

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The Honorable Robert M. Gates  
Secretary of Defense  
US Department of Defense  
The Pentagon Room 3E 880  
Washington DC 20301

Dear Secretary *Bob*

Given your work on national security, I wanted to share with you a copy of a speech I delivered on the House floor last Friday regarding the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR).

I hope you find this information helpful.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

*FRW*  
Frank R. Wolf  
Member of Congress

FRW:ea

*BEST WISHES*

OSD 07051-09





United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 111<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

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WASHINGTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 2009

No. 88

## House of Representatives

### COUNCIL ON AMERICAN-ISLAMIC RELATIONS—CAIR

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 2009, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. WOLF. Madam Speaker, as ranking member on the Commerce, Justice, Science Appropriation Subcommittee, which last week considered the fiscal year 2010 appropriations bill, I have a keen interest in and oversight responsibility for a host of counterterrorism and related initiatives.

The bill which is expected to come before the full House next week includes \$7.7 billion to support the work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the FBI, whose top priorities include protecting and defending the United States against terrorism and foreign intelligence threats.

□ 1315

The FBI was intimately involved in a 15-year investigation, which culminated last fall in the Holy Land Foundation and five of its former organizers being found guilty of illegally funneling more than \$12 million to the terrorist group Hamas.

A Department of Justice press release issued May 27, 2009, reported, "U.S. District Judge Jorge A. Solis sentenced the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development and five of its leaders following their convictions by a Federal jury in November 2008 on charges of providing material support to Hamas, a designated foreign terrorist organization." The sentences range from 15 years to 65 years in prison.

According to the Department of Justice, "From its inception, the Holy Land Foundation existed to support Hamas. The government's case included testimony that, in the early 1990s, Hamas' parent organization, the Muslim Brotherhood, planned to establish a network of organizations in the U.S. to spread a militant Islamist message and raise money for Hamas. The defendants sent Holy Land Foundation-raised funds to Hamas-controlled zakat committees and charitable societies West Bank and Gaza."

Among the unindicted conspirators in the case is an organization which, over the last several years, has been

granted access to the highest levels of the U.S. Government—an organization which is routinely elevated in the press as a voice of mainstream Muslim Americans. This organization is the Council on American-Islamic Relations, or CAIR.

Tawfik Hamid, according to his bio, is an "Islamist thinker and reformer and onetime Islamist extremist from Egypt. He was a member of a terrorist Islamic organization, Jemaah Islamiyah, with Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri, who became later the second in command of al Qaeda.

On May 25 of 2007, in a Wall Street Journal op-ed, Hamid wrote the following, "In America, perhaps the most conspicuous organization to persistently accuse opponents of Islamophobia is the Council of [sic] American Islamic Relations." The observations of Mr. Tawfik, himself a Muslim, are particularly relevant in light of recent news reports.

On January 30, 2009, Fox News reported that the FBI was "severing its once close ties with the Nation's largest Muslim advocacy group, the Council on American-Islamic Relations, amid mounting evidence that it has links to a support network for Hamas."

Given that Hamas is on the current list of U.S.-designated foreign terrorist organizations, this was obviously a serious claim and one which, if true, would rightly inform a shift in FBI policy. However, the Fox News piece left me with some unanswered questions, questions which, given the seriousness of the report, necessitated further inquiry. Such questions of the executive branch are a common congressional practice and, in fact, are the responsibility of the legislative branch of government and are the intended purpose of our system of checks and balances.

For 8 years, from 2001-2008, I served as chairman of the appropriations subcommittee which has oversight of the FBI. This year, I resumed a leadership role as the lead Republican on the subcommittee.

According to the Congressional Research Service, "Congressional oversight refers to the review, monitoring and supervision of Federal agencies, programs, activities, and policy implementation. It is an integral part of the American system of checks and balances."

A young Woodrow Wilson, before becoming President, put it this way. He said, "Quite as important as legislation is vigilant oversight of administration."

Needless to say, I take very seriously the responsibility of congressional oversight, especially in matters with potential national security implications. In this spirit of oversight, I wrote to the FBI on February 2, seeking additional information and clarification regarding the Bureau's decision about its relationship with CAIR.

For the RECORD, I submit a copy of the letter.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, DC, February 2, 2008.

Mr. MICHAEL J. HENRICH,  
Assistant Director, Counter Terrorism Division,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation, Wash-  
ington DC.

DEAR MR. HENRICH: I write regarding the Bureau's position on meeting with the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR). Over the weekend I saw a FOX News report (enclosed) that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) has cut off ties with CAIR "amid mounting evidence that it has links to a support network for Hamas." Given that Hamas is on the current list of U.S. designated foreign terrorist organizations, this is obviously a serious claim, one which would rightly inform a shift in FBI policy.

In response to this report, I request answers to the following questions:  
Has the FBI severed ties with CAIR? If so, how is the FBI planning to formally notify Members of Congress and other government officials of this decision?

If FBI policy has changed with regard to CAIR, is there any indication that this decision is being revisited by the new administration? If so, what new evidence would justify a change in course?

Is CAIR's national office still in contact with the FBI?

The report quotes Assistant Director John Miller from the FBI Office of Public Affairs as saying: "The FBI has had to limit its formal contact with CAIR field offices until certain issues are addressed by CAIR's national headquarters." What specifically are the "certain issues" which you have raised with CAIR? Is there still informal contact with any field offices? If so, what is the distinction between formal and informal and why is there a distinction between field offices?

To your knowledge, does CAIR receive financial contributions from foreign sources? If so, which ones and how much?

I look forward to your timely response, and to working with you in the days ahead in my new role as ranking member of the House Commerce-Justice-Science Appropriations subcommittee.

Best wishes,  
Sincerely,

FRANK R. WOLF,  
Member of Congress.

The Fox News piece, which prompted my initial interest, quoted the assistant director of the Office of Public Affairs at the Bureau as saying, "The FBI has had to limit its formal contact with CAIR field offices until certain issues are addressed by CAIR's national headquarters."

I found this statement to be vague. While perhaps sufficient from a public affairs vantage, I believed it to be an insufficient explanation for Members of

Congress, none of whom, to my knowledge, had been informed of this policy shift, and it was just that—a policy shift.

The FOX piece noted later that the FBI has "long been close to CAIR. The agency has previously invited CAIR to give training sessions for agents and used it as a liaison with the American Muslim community."

I was one of several Members of Congress, both Democrat and Republican, who wrote the Bureau in the days following this report. Some, such as Republican Senator JON KYL of Arizona and Democratic Senator CRUCK SCHUMER of New York, voiced their support for the Bureau's decision, which was a step further than my initial letter; but they, too, desired to "understand the situation more fully" as Senators KYL and SCHUMER wrote.

When I received a response from the FBI on March 9, only 1 of the 10 questions I posed was answered, which prompted me to send a second letter restating the original questions and pressing the FBI for a timely and detailed response.

I submit a copy of that letter for the RECORD.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, DC, March 9, 2008.

Mr. MICHAEL J. HENRICH,  
Assistant Director, Counter Terrorism Division,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation, Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Washington DC.

DEAR MR. HENRICH: I was deeply disappointed with the FBI's response—hand-delivered to my office last Friday—so my letter of February 3 inquiring about the Bureau's position on meeting with the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR). It took the Bureau more than a month to respond, and the letter I received provides only a partial answer to one of the 10 questions I posed.

In 1998 I authored the legislation that created the National Commission on Terrorism. Regrettably its recommendations were not implemented until after the attacks on 9/11. I take seriously the responsibility of congressional oversight, especially in matters with potential national security implications. For six years I served as chairman of the appropriations subcommittee with jurisdiction over the FBI and count myself among the Bureau's strongest supporters. Having assumed a leadership role this year as ranking member on the Commerce-Justice-Science Appropriations subcommittee, it is important to me that the FBI provide timely and detailed responses. And so again, I request answers to the following straightforward questions:

Has the FBI severed ties with CAIR? If so, how is the FBI planning to formally notify Members of Congress and other government officials of this decision?

If FBI policy has changed with regard to CAIR, is there any indication that this decision is being revisited by the new administration? If so, what new evidence would justify a change in course?

Is CAIR's national office still in contact with the FBI?

The FOX News report I referenced in my original letter quotes Assistant Director John Miller from the FBI Office of Public Affairs as saying: "The FBI has had to limit its formal contact with CAIR field offices until certain issues are addressed by CAIR's national headquarters." What specifically are

the "certain issues" which you have raised with CAIR? Is there still informal contact with any field offices? If so, what is the distinction between formal and informal and why is there a distinction between field offices?

To your knowledge, does CAIR receive financial contributions from foreign sources? If so, which ones and how much?

I would like these questions fully answered by this Friday, March 13, and by someone who works on counter-terrorism, rather than a public affairs officer. Other members of Congress, both House and Senate, have expressed interest in and additional information about the Bureau's position as it relates to CAIR. I would think the Bureau would be embarrassed to send the insufficient response I received.

Best wishes,  
Sincerely,

FRANK R. WOLF,  
Member of Congress.

Days after my second letter, CAIR launched a public attack against me, claiming in a March 12 press release that I "accused" my "office" by "seeking to pressure the FBI to produce negative information" about the organization.

Those assertions are patently untrue and would not even warrant a response were they not symptomatic of what I believe to be a larger pattern of intimidation undertaken by CAIR—intimidation which is of great consequence given the national security matters at stake.

As my letters to the FBI indicate, I was seeking to better understand the Bureau's position and access information about what led to this decision. It is a conclusion which—and I agree with my Senate colleagues—is absolutely appropriate based on reports I have read for years but which, again, marks a change in course for the Bureau and, as such, deserved further explanation.

It is noteworthy that, on April 28, following my initial unsatisfactory reply from the Bureau, Senator KYL received a more substantive response from the FBI to his letter. In the letter to Senator KYL, the Bureau was more detailed in explaining and in validating the original news report regarding its relationship with CAIR.

The letter reads, "As you know, CAIR was named as an undicted co-conspirator of the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development in the United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al.

"During that trial, evidence was introduced that demonstrated a relationship among CAIR, individual CAIR founders, including its current president emeritus and its executive director, and the Palestinian committee. Evidence was also introduced that demonstrated a relationship between the Palestinian committee and Hamas, which was designated a terrorist organization in 1995. In light of that evidence, the FBI suspended all formal contacts between CAIR and the FBI.

"The FBI's decision to suspend formal contacts was not intended to reflect a wholesale judgment of the organization and its entire membership. Nevertheless, until we can resolve

whether there continues to be a connection between CAIR or its executives and Hamas, the FBI does not view CAIR as an appropriate liaison partner."

I submit a copy of the Bureau's response to Senator KYL for the RECORD.  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION,  
Washington, DC, April 28, 2009.

Hon. JON KYL,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR KYL: This responds to your letter to Director Mueller dated February 24, 2009, regarding your interest in reports that the FBI has severed its liaison relationship with the Council on Islamic Relations (CAIR). I apologize for the delay in responding to your inquiry. For your information an identical letter has been sent to Senator Schumer and to Senator Coburn, M.D.

As you know, CAIR was named as an unindicted co-conspirator of the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development in United States v. Holy Land Foundation et al. (Cr. No. 3:04-948-P (N.D.TX.). During that trial, evidence was introduced that demonstrated a relationship among CAIR, individual CAIR founders (including its current President Emeritus and its Executive Director) and the Palestine Committee. Evidence was also introduced that demonstrated a relationship between the Palestine Committee and HAMAS, which was designated as a terrorist organization in 1988. In light of that evidence, the FBI suspended all formal contacts between CAIR and the FBI.

The FBI's decision to suspend formal contacts was not intended to reflect a wholesale judgment of the organization and its entire membership. Nevertheless, until we can resolve whether there continues to be a connection between CAIR or its executives and HAMAS, the FBI does not view CAIR as an appropriate liaison partner. It is important to note, however, that although the FBI has suspended all formal outreach activities with CAIR at this time, CAIR, its officers, and members have been encouraged to report any hate crimes, violation of federal civil rights or suspicious activity to the FBI.

The FBI made its own decision vis-a-vis outreach activities with this particular group. Any questions regarding broader executive branch outreach activities would be better answered by the Administration.

Please do not hesitate to contact my office if we may be of additional assistance.

Sincerely yours,

RICHARD C. POWERS,  
Assistant Director, Office of  
Congressional Affairs.

I plan to take the remainder of my time to explore many of these same concerns and talk about why everything I've read, studied and observed has led me to believe that the Bureau's decision is not only defensible but advisable and that it ought to, in fact, inform the actions of other public officials, policymakers and the press, many of whom consistently—and I would argue mistakenly—look to CAIR to speak for mainstream Muslim Americans.

Zuhdi Jasser, himself a Muslim and president of the Islamic Forum for Democracy, makes a critical distinction between "Islam" and "Islamism." "Islam" is, of course, a faith which has an estimated worldwide following of over 1 billion people. "Islamism," however, according to Mr. Jasser, is "a coercive governmental and political construct that seeks to impose sharia—

Islam jurisprudence—upon society."

In 2007, in the publication Family Security Matters, Jasser wrote that CAIR uses "the protection of religion when the facts are not on their side. They use the discourse of politics when they want to push forth their Islamist agenda with the presumption of speaking for all Muslims. They will delve into the political only on their own terms in both foreign and domestic policy, but when they are on the receiving end of political criticism, they run for cover under the guise of victimization." A dispassionate look at CAIR's public posture shows that Mr. Jasser's observations ring true.

In 1998, I authored the legislation that created the National Commission on Terrorism. That same year, in CAIR's own words from a press release, it "asked Muslims to contact leaders of a House-Senate conference committee and urge them to amend or eliminate new legislation that would create a National Commission on Terrorism." This was a misguided lobbying effort at best. Fortunately, it was unsuccessful, and the bipartisan commission was authorized to conduct its work.

A Congressional Research Service report described the main finding of the commission this way: "It calls on the U.S. Government to prepare more actively to prevent and deal with a future mass casualty, catastrophic terrorist attack." Regrettably, the commission's recommendations, sent to Congress in June 2000, were generally ignored until after the attacks of September 11, 2001, when 3,000 people were killed, including 30 from my congressional district.

Following the commission's public report, CAIR's executive director, Nihad Awad, said in a June 4 press release, "The fight against terrorism is one that should be undertaken, but that struggle should not be based on stereotypes, false assumptions or the political agendas of foreign governments. If the past is any indication, all or most of these new provisions will be used to target Muslims in this country and worldwide. It is American Muslim groups whose fund-raising will be restricted. It is Muslim students who will be monitored."

Indeed, the FBI has restricted the fund-raising of some Muslim groups, but only when those organizations have been found to be a cover for terrorist financing, as was true most notably with the Holy Land Foundation.

When the Holy Land Foundation was shuttered 8 months after 9/11, CAIR warned in a December 4, 2001, press release that this was an "unjust and counterproductive move that can only damage America's credibility with Muslims in this country and around the world and could create the impression that there has been a shift from a war on terrorism to an attack on Islam." This purported "attack on Islam" proved to be baseless in the face of the Holy Land Foundation verdicts.

A November 26, 2008, Department of Justice press release following the initial verdicts in the foundation case quotes Patrick Rowan, Assistant At-

torney General for National Security. He says, "For many years, the Holy Land Foundation used the guise of charity to raise and funnel millions of dollars to the infrastructure of the Hamas terrorist organization. This prosecution demonstrates our resolve to ensure that humanitarian relief efforts are not used as a mechanism to disguise and enable support for terrorist groups."

As I noted earlier, CAIR was named as an unindicted coconspirator in the Holy Land Foundation case, which makes its cautionary word about the "injustice" of closing the "charity" suspect.

In a Federal court filing from December 2007, Federal prosecutors described CAIR as "having conspired with other affiliates of the Muslim Brotherhood to support terrorists." The government also stated "proof that the conspirators used deception to conceal from the American public their connections to terrorists was introduced" in the Holy Land Foundation trial.

□ 1330

In a footnote, government prosecutors pointed out: "From its founding by Muslim Brotherhood leaders, CAIR conspired with other affiliates of the Muslim Brotherhood to support terrorists."

Further, according to Senate testimony, CAIR received a \$5,000 donation for the Holy Land Foundation. Initially, in written testimony submitted September 10, 2008, to the Senate Subcommittee on Terrorism, Technology and Homeland Security, CAIR denied that this was the case. Specifically, Mr. Awad said claims to the contrary were "an outright lie. Our organization did not receive any seed money from the Holy Land Foundation. But when confronted with the IRS form on which the Holy Land Foundation disclosed the contribution, Mr. Awad changed his position in supplemental testimony submitted to the subcommittee saying that the amount in question was a donation like any other.

CAIR ultimately filed an amicus brief seeking removal from the list of unindicted coconspirators in the Holy Land Foundation case. In September of 2007, prosecutors made several arguments in favor of maintaining CAIR status, saying: "CAIR has been identified by the government at trial as a participant in an ongoing and ultimately unlawful conspiracy to support a designated terrorist organization, a conspiracy from which CAIR never withdrew."

The Holy Land Foundation trial revealed more about CAIR than simply its ties to that particular entity. Rather, the trial brought to light, in the public square, the genesis of the organization. According to an October 14, 2008, Dallas Morning News story: "Testimony has suggested that CAIR's founder Omar Ahmad and its current executive director, Nihad Awad, participated in a 1993 meeting of purported Hamas sympathizers. Some Holy Land defendants attended the Philadelphia meeting, bagged by the FBI."

A day later, the Dallas Morning News reported that FBI special agent Lara Burns testified during the Holy Land Foundation case that CAIR "was formed in the aftermath of a 1993 meeting by Palestinian activists in America who brainstormed ways to spread pro-Hamas messages here without attracting too much attention."

A Department of Justice press release issued on November 24, 2008, when the Holy Land Foundation verdicts came down: "The government case included testimony that in the early 1990s, Hamas' parent organization, the Muslim Brotherhood, planned to establish a network of organizations in the U.S. to spread a militant Islamist message and to raise money for Hamas."

HLF became the chief fundraising arm for the Palestine Committee in the U.S. created by the Muslim Brotherhood to support Hamas. According to a wiretap of a 1993 Palestine Committee meeting in Philadelphia, former Holy Land Foundation President and CEO Shukri Abu Baker spoke about playing down Hamas' ties in order to keep raising money in the U.S. Another wiretapped phone call included Abdulrahman Odeh, Holy Land Foundation's New Jersey representative, referring to a suicide bombing as "a beautiful operation."

According to a National Review article in the pre-CAIR days, both Nihad Awad and Omar Ahmad were top officers in the Islamic Association for Palestine. Former FBI counterterrorism chief Oliver "Buck" Revell called Awad's former employer, the Islamic Association for Palestine, "a front organization for Hamas that engages in propaganda for Islamic militants."

A September 24, 2001, L.A. Times story described the connection between the Islamic Association of Palestine and the Holy Land Foundation this way: "The IAP and the Holy Land were founded and funded by Mousa abu Marzook. . . . He's also the political leader of the terrorist group Hamas."

Andrew McCarthy, a former Federal prosecutor who led the 1995 prosecution against Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, the "blind sheik" who was found guilty of planning the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, in a National Review article notes that there are "several persons connected to CAIR who have been convicted of Federal felonies including terrorism."

McCarthy includes in the group Ghassan Elashi, one of the founding members of CAIR's Dallas-area chapter, and also co-founder and former chairman of the Holy Land Foundation. According to July 9, 2007, Dallas Morning News report, Elashi was sentenced to "nearly 7 years in prison for doing business with a terrorist and violating export laws." In a 1994 forum discussion videotaped at Barry University, CAIR's Mr. Awad said, "I'm in support of the Hamas movement." CAIR has subsequently sought to discredit his video on his Web site by saying this quote was in response to a specific question and that Hamas was only designated a "foreign terrorist organization" in January 1995 and did not

commit its first wave of suicide bombings until late 1994 after Mr. Awad made the comment. It is noteworthy that Hamas' 1988 covenant describes itself as "one of the wings in the Muslim Brotherhood in Palestine" and says that "the day of judgment will not come about until Muslims fight Jews and kill them."

CAIR's defense and Mr. Awad's quote based simply on chronology is wanting in light of Hamas' founding principles which clearly embrace violence. As the Washington Post's Richard Cohen wrote in April of 2009: "Read the Hamas charter. It is not some uplifting cry of a downtrodden people seeking its freedom but a repellant anti-Semitism sordid."

CAIR's mission statement focuses on protecting the civil rights of Muslims in America and on improving Islam's image. But CAIR's action under the umbrella of civil rights raises troubling questions.

In November 2008, US Airways removed six imams from a flight following passenger reports of unusual behavior. An Investor's Business Daily piece described the imams' action this way: "At the gate before boarding, they angrily cursed the U.S. Then they bowed to Mecca and prayed 'very loud' shouting 'Allah Allah, Allah' according to the gate agent and another witness. On the plane, they didn't take their assigned seats and instead fanned out to the front, the middle, and the rear of the plane. . . . Some ran back and forth speaking to each other in Arabic. Adding to suspicions, most of them asked for seatbelt extensions even though they didn't need them—or even use them."

"Following the incident, the imams and CAIR filed a lawsuit against US Airways, the Minneapolis-St. Paul Metropolitan Airports Commission and 'John Doe' passengers," meaning the passengers on the plane.

Omar Mohammed, the New York attorney who represented the imams, was a former president for the board of directors for CAIR, New York. The suit charged that the John Doe passengers "may have made false reports against plaintiffs solely with the intent to discriminate against them on the basis of their race, religion, ethnicity and national origin."

CAIR subsequently called on the Department of Justice to investigate violations of civil liberties for the six religious leaders taken off the plane.

The then-president of the Becket Fund for Religious Liberty, a Washington, DC public interest-based law firm protecting the free expression of all religious traditions, wrote the following letter to CAIR regarding suit against the John Doe passengers:

"This is a first for us. We have never opposed someone else's claim for religious discrimination but this tactic of threatening suit against ordinary citizens is so far beyond the traditions of civil rights litigation in the United States that we must oppose it to defend the good name of religious liberty itself."

It is noteworthy that the Becket Fund has successfully argued cases for

Muslims including securing a place for Muslim public school students in Texas to pray. In March of 2007, the Arizona Republic called the suit against ordinary citizens "intimidation by lawsuit." On April 9, 2007, the San Francisco Chronicle reported that CAIR's Ibrahim Hooper had a notably different take: "It is wrongheaded for observers to be suspicious of innocent behavior. Praying or asking for a seatbelt extension—simply because a Muslim 'That Muslim is wearing a tie,' Hooper scoffed. 'He can take it off and strangle someone.'"

The U.S. Department of Transportation conducted an investigation following the passenger complaints and found that US Airways did not discriminate against the six imams when it removed them. In a letter to CAIR's acting legal director, the assistant general counsel for Aviation Enforcement and Proceedings wrote the following: "We find the decision to remove the imams from the aircraft was based on information available to the captain at the time and was reasonable. . . . It appears that the captain decided to remove the imams because of security concerns as a result of the sum of the imams' actual and perceived behavior, not their race or ethnicity. The fact that the captain's concerns were not borne out in hindsight does not make the action that he took discriminatory."

CAIR's approach in this case was not simply an inconvenience. Rather, it had potential security implications as well. Airports nationwide implore travelers to report suspicious activities. Signs on major highways, bridges and tunnels throughout America do the same. New York Metropolitan Transit Authority introduced an ad campaign which has been adopted by municipalities around the country as part of their own anti-terrorism campaign. The ad features the following admonition: If you see something, say something.

But CAIR would have had Americans thinking, if you see something, think twice before you say something, lest you get mired in a lawsuit. USA Today editorialized in the days following the imams' suit and said: "This legal tactic seems designed to intimidate passengers willing to do exactly what authorities have requested—say something about suspicious activity." The paper went on to report that "the imams want to know the names of an elderly couple who turned around to watch and then made cell phone calls presumably to authorities."

In a response to the incident at the Minneapolis Airport, Congressman PETER KING, the ranking member on the House Homeland Security Committee, and Congressman Steve Pearce first moved to provide immunity to those on public transportation who report suspicious activity through a recommitment motion to the Rail and Public Transportation Security Act of 2007, which the House overwhelmingly passed in March 2007 by a vote of 394-121.

Later in the 110th Congress, despite CAIR's public lobbying effort, Mr. KING and Senator JOE LITTMAN were suc-

cessful in adding a section to the 9/11 Commission Implementation Act, Public Law 11068, which provides legal immunity to individuals who report terrorists or suspicious activity which they see on trains or planes to law enforcement.

In what has become a familiar refrain, Nihad Awad, on FOX News, March 31, 2007, said that PETER KING's legislative efforts were encouraging Islamophobia. In fact, the bill language had the potential to encourage other John Doss who encounter suspicious activity to report it to authorities.

CAIR's funding is also a source of interest. Apart from the financial link with Holy Land Foundation, there is much that is unclear as to whether and to what degree CAIR is receiving contributions from foreign governments. In a March 2007 interview with the Chicago Tribune, Ahmed Rehab, CAIR-Chicago's executive director, said, "Neither CAIR chapters nor the national office solicits or accepts money from any foreign government."

A January 2007 open letter on CAIR's Web site says they are "proud to receive support of every individual, whether Muslim, Christian, Jewish, or of another faith background, who supports the mission of promoting justice and mutual understanding as long as they are not an official of any foreign government and there are no strings attached to the request."

Yet in a sensitive, but unclassified, May 2006 State Department cable which was brought to my attention, U.S. embassy staff in Abu Dhabi cabled that the UAE press was reporting that "Sheikh Hamdan bin Rashid al-Maktoum, deputy ruler of Dubai and UAE Minister of Finance and Industry has endorsed a proposal to build a property in the U.S. to serve as an endowment for CAIR."

**RE 224556 MAY 06  
FM AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI  
TO SECRETATE WASHDC 0275  
INFO AMCONSUL DUBAI  
UNCLAS ABU DHABI 00217  
SENSITIVE  
FOR NEA/ARF, NEA/FPD; INFO NEA/FC, R  
E.O. 12958: N/A  
TAGS: KISL, SOCI, PHUM, PGOV, KDEM,  
AE**

**SUBJECT: VISIT BY COUNCIL ON AMERICAN ISLAMIC RELATIONS (CAIR) TO UAE**

1.(U) On May 31, the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR) paid a courtesy call on the Ambassador to discuss the organization's issues, outreach strategies, and its visit to the O.A.S. The UAE press has reported that Sheikh Hamdan bin Rashid al-Maktoum, Deputy Ruler of Dubai and UAE Minister of Finance and Industry, "has endorsed a proposal to build a property in the U.S. to serve as an endowment for CAIR." DCM, PAO and MRP Regional Director also participated in the meeting.

2.(U) The group expressed ideas about countering negative stereotypes about Muslims in the U.S. ("Islamophobia") and addressing anti-Americanism in the Middle East. They mentioned previous meetings with State Department officials, US Karen Hughes and A/S David Welch, their attendance at the Secretary's Inter, and spoke of a possible meeting with President Bush in the future.

3.(U) Mr. Don Myers, representing Wash-

ington, D.C. public relations firm Hill & Knowlton, provided a short demonstration of a PR campaign designed to support CAIR's overall organizational objectives defined as: 1) political empowerment of Muslims, 2) grassroots effort by CAIR to improve community relations with non-Muslims, 3) launching of an effective, long-term (3 year) advertising/outreach campaign to counter negative stereotypes about Muslims.

4.(U) Members of the CAIR delegation included: Hon. Larry Shaw, Senator (North Carolina General Assembly); Hon. Paul Findley, Former U.S. Representative; Don Myers, Washington, D.C. public relations firm Hill & Knowlton; Nihad Awad, CAIR Executive Director and Co-Founder; Cary (Ibrahim) Hooper, CAIR Communication Director and Co-Founder; Dr. Farves Ahmed, CAIR Board Chairman; and Dr. Nabil Sadoua, CAIR Board Member.

5.(U) CAIR delegation also paid a call earlier in the day on Sheikh Sultan bin Muhammad al-Qasbi, Ruler of Sharjah, which was covered in the press.

6.(U) Sheikh Ali al-Hachami, UAE Presidential Adviser on Islamic affairs, is hosting a reception at his home this evening, May 31, in honor of the CAIR group; Ambassador and PolOff to attend. Al-Hachami also thanked the Ambassador for receiving the CAIR delegation.

7.(SBU) Comment: CAIR Executive Director Nihad-Awad told us that while they were pleased with the results of the meeting with Sheikh Hamdan bin Rashid, they had no concrete information on the size of the endowment or when it might be forthcoming. Awad also mentioned that the Bin Hamoodah Group, a \$90 million/year trading company, founded by three Emirati brothers and representing Halliburton, IBM, PNC Corporation and General Motors, is CAIR's main benefactor in the UAE. One newly-rich stock trader, Taha Sport (TAS) national of Iranian origin, is reported to have donated one million dollars to CAIR.

Sison.

□ 1245

In another sensitive, but unclassified, June 2006 State Department cable, U.S. Embassy staff in Saudi Arabia reported the following after meeting with a CAIR delegation. The cable said, "One admitted reason for the group's current visit to the KSA (Kingdom of Saudi Arabia) was to solicit \$50 million in governmental and nongovernmental contributions." I submit both cables for the RECORD.

According to the June 2006 cable, "The core delegation consisted of CAIR Board Chairman Dr. Farves Ahmed, Executive Director Nihad Awad, and Communications Director Cary (Ibrahim) Hooper." On an MSNBC talk show with Tucker Carlson in September 2006, just 3 months after the trip, Ibrahim Hooper claimed, "To my knowledge, we don't take money from the Government of Saudi Arabia."

**P 224556 JUN 06  
FM AMEMBASSY RIYADH  
TO SECRETATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0085  
INFO GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL COL-  
LECTIVE**

**AMCONSUL JEDDAH  
UNCLAS RIYADH 00517  
SENSITIVE**

**E.O. 12958: N/A  
TAGS: SOUL, KDEM, KISL, PGOV, PHUM,  
SOCI, SA**

**SUBJECT: VISIT BY COUNCIL ON AMERICAN ISLAMIC RELATIONS (CAIR) TO SAUDI ARABIA  
REF: ABU DHABI 027**

1.(U) Following up on a similar visit to the UAE in May (ref:al), a delegation from the U.S.-based Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR) visited the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) in June. On June 27 the group paid a courtesy call on the Embassy to discuss the organization's issues and outreach strategies. In the Ambassador's absence, DCM received the group, along with the PA Counselor and PolOff (notetaker).

2.(SBU) Prior to coming to Riyadh, the CAIR group visited Mecca and Jeddah. Although they apparently were not received at the highest levels of the SAG, the group assured the Embassy that "King Abdullah knows CAIR very well" and receives regular updates on the group's projects. After recalling the success of their visit to the UAE in May, the group predicted that they would be back in the region by fall to visit Kuwait and Qatar. The group also mentioned that they had been well-received in Washington by senior State Department officials, including Secretary Rice and Undersecretary Hughes.

3.(U) The core delegation consisted of CAIR Board Chairman Dr. Farves Ahmed, Executive Director Nihad Awad, and Communications Director Cary (Ibrahim) Hooper. Accompanying them were former U.S. Representative Paul Findley and Don Myers, a former DoD official now with Hill and Knowlton public relations.

4.(U) During their hour-long meeting in the Embassy, the group presented various projects that CAIR is working on to counter negative stereotypes about Muslims in the U.S. ("Islamophobia"), linking their work to concern over growing anti-Americanism in the Middle East. One of the current CAIR projects they discussed was the presentation of "accurate books about Islam" to schools and libraries in the U.S.

5.(SBU) Mr. Don Myers, representing Hill and Knowlton, gave a short demonstration of a CAIR-funded media campaign to support CAIR's overall information outreach effort. According to Myers, this private campaign will emphasize both grassroots outreach to improve American non-Muslim understanding of Muslims and the encouragement of political engagement by American Muslims. The multi-year broadcast and print campaign is to be entitled "Let the Conversation Begin" and is aimed at countering negative stereotypes about Muslims within the broad American public.

6.(SBU) One admitted reason for the group's current visit to the KSA was to solicit \$50 million in governmental and nongovernmental contributions. PA Counselor noted that private outreach activities can provide valuable support to USG efforts to build mutual understanding overseas but cautioned that USG Public Diplomacy (PD) funds cannot be used or associated with efforts to target American audiences. The delegation was interested to hear of the Embassy's PD exchange and activities within the KSA and offered to help support them in any appropriate way. The group did not share, however, any details of their success or lack thereof in fundraising within the KSA. Oberwetter.

I want to make it clear that it is important to understand that American Muslims, like all Americans, are entitled to organize, advocate, and engage in the political process; such are the makings of a vibrant democracy. They have taken advantage of the opportunity America provides for every background. They are teachers, doctors, policemen, they are mothers and fathers and neighbors.

I am reminded of a young Pakistani American who is Muslim that I had the privilege of meeting during one of my visits to Walter Reed Hospital. I met him when he was in the midst of his

physical therapy, therapy that was necessary because he had lost both legs while in combat in Iraq. Despite his tremendous sacrifice, he was committed to the hard work of rehabilitation, in part because he hoped to go back to Iraq. He was a patriot of the sort that ought to give us pause and ought to make us proud.

I want to be absolutely clear that concerns I have with CAIR are specific to the organization and not to the Muslim faith. Even a passing glance at my record in Congress should put any thought to the contrary to rest.

In Sudan, Chechnya, China, Bosnia, and Kosovo, I have spoken out in defense of people of the Muslim faith. I have been to Sudan five times, including leading the first congressional delegation to Darfur, where nearly all the victims of the genocide are Muslim.

I was the only Member of Congress to visit Chechnya during the fighting in 1996. When I returned, I condemned the violence against the Chechen people, most of whom were Muslim, and called for a cease-fire.

I was one of the only Members to visit Muslim men in a Serb-run prisoner of war camp in Bosnia, where I saw evidence of a modern-day Holocaust taking place. And very early on, I began speaking out against the ethnic cleansing and the culture of genocide against the Bosnian people. I spoke out in favor of lifting the arms embargo against Bosnia so that the Muslim Bosnian Government could defend itself. I have visited Kosovo five times, and I voted and spoke out on the floor to approve the bombing campaign to stop the Serbian atrocities against Muslims in Kosovo.

I was one of the first Members to raise concerns about the persecution of Muslims in China, and continue to speak out when few others do.

Further, I was the author of the International Religious Freedom Act which created the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom as well as the International Religious Freedom Office at the State Department. Central to the act was the assertion that "freedom of religious beliefs and practices is a universal human right and fundamental freedom." The legislation, and ultimately the offices it created, strengthens the United States' advocacy on behalf of individuals persecuted in foreign countries on account of religion, which, of course, includes persecuted Muslims.

America is an imperfect Nation, but a great Nation, a "shining city on a hill" as described by our Founders, a beacon of hope for persecuted and oppressed people. For centuries, the "huddled masses" depicted in the iconic poem at the base of the Statue of Liberty have arrived on these shores seeking a better life for themselves and their families.

My grandparents immigrated to America from Germany. My father served in World War II. Part of the reason he did so was that he felt a need to show that his loyalty was to America. Even though my grandparents were both native German speakers, when

World War I broke out, my grandmother decided from that day forward only English would be spoken in their home.

I share this bit of personal history to illustrate that I am sensitive to the challenges facing new immigrants, especially during times of war. There have been instances in our Nation's history, especially when our country has been under attack, where the civil liberties of certain groups of people have been violated because other people were afraid. This is inexcusable. But this is the exception, not the rule.

Our experiment in self-governance has been marred by an unwavering commitment to basic freedoms for all people, among them the right to worship according to the dictates of your conscience. Many American Muslims' left countries where such freedom is unimaginable; however, in a pluralistic society like ours, these principles are paramount. To silence or otherwise repress people of faith is inimical to the American way. In a public discourse, to accuse someone of religious bigotry or intolerance is a sure way to stifle debate.

On October 4, 2006, the editorial page editor of The Columbus Dispatch spoke to CAIR's bent toward accusation as a means of muzzling debate. They said, "For many years, CAIR has waged a campaign to intimidate and silence anyone who raises alarms about the dangers of Islamic extremism. CAIR's rationale is that discussions of Islamic extremism lead to animosity not just toward those who twist Islam into a justification for terrorism, but toward all who practice Islam."

"CAIR's concern is understandable, but its response is unreasonable." They went on to say, "The group acts properly when it hammers home the point that only a small number of Muslims support religiously motivated violence, and that targeting law-abiding Muslims is wrong. Where CAIR errs is in labeling anyone who discusses Islamic terrorism a bigot and hateranger, an Islamophobe, to use CAIR's favorite slur." Ironically, some of CAIR's most pointed attacks have in fact been aimed at other Muslims who dare to have differing views.

In a 2006 Philadelphia Inquirer piece, CAIR's Hooper is quoted as saying, "Zuhdi Jasser, President of the American Islamic Forum for Democracy, who has been critical of CAIR, was 'providing others with an opportunity to advance an agenda that is hostile to the American Muslim community.'"

Given CAIR's genesis, its associations with known terrorist entities and individuals, and its tactics—namely, attempting to discredit anyone who dares to speak out against its organization—their cries of victimization and accusations of religious bigotry appear disingenuous.

And given the dangerous world in which we live today, any attempt to literally silence honest discourse about the nature of the threats facing our country is intolerable and must be addressed.

I stand today with other elected offi-

cialists who have raised questions about CAIR. Senator SCHUMER describes CAIR as an organization "which we know has ties to terrorism." Democratic Senator DIK DUDSON has said that CAIR is "unusual in its extreme rhetoric and its association with groups that are suspect."

Democratic Senator BARBARA BOXER withdrew an award she gave to an official at a local CAIR chapter because she "had concerns about statements by some CAIR officials and about claims of financial links to terrorism." And other Senators, including Republicans JON KYL and TOM COBURN, have voiced support for the FBI's actions in severing ties with CAIR.

I stand today with counterterrorism experts, including Steven Pomerantz, the FBI's former chief of counterterrorism, who has stated, "CAIR, its leaders, and its activities effectively give aid to international terrorist groups."

And perhaps most importantly, I stand with thousands of American Muslims for whom CAIR does not speak. In June, 2007, the Washington Times published a report which analyzed CAIR's tax documents and found that CAIR's membership had declined by 90 percent since 9/11. Zuhdi Jasser of the American Islamic Forum for Democracy was quoted in the article as saying, "This is the untold story in the myth that CAIR represents the American Muslim population. They only represent their membership and donors."

In 1999, the Islamic Supreme Council of America, ISCA, issued an open letter to all Muslims after Shaykh Kabbani, Chairman of the ISCA, spoke at a State Department open forum on Islamic extremism and subsequently came under public attack by several organizations, including CAIR. In the open letter, ISCA says the organizations attacking Kabbani, among them CAIR, "have not quoted a single statement of Shaykh Kabbani in full or in context. Moreover, the statements were augmented with emotionally charged words like 'promoted and generalised an allegation,' 'outrageous statements,' and 'Islamophobic,' thereby thwarting his original intention and message." The letter goes on to say, "In their action alerts, CAIR has a chronic tendency to negatively juxtapose Islam and America."

Consider, too, the words of Dr. Hedieh Mirahmadi, then general secretary of the Islamic Supreme Council of America, quoted in a 1999 ISCA press release following this same incident. She remarked, "The carefully orchestrated and calculated plot to intimidate Shaykh Kabbani into retracting his statements only goes to prove the unwillingness to tolerate differences of opinion and belief, as well as the extent to which they would go to silence the voice of opposition."

Or consider the testimony of Zeyno Baran, a prominent Turkish American scholar who is presently a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute. In July of 2006, speaking before the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, she stated that the be-

lieved CAIR "was created by the Muslim Brotherhood to influence the U.S. Government, Congress, and NGOs, along with academic and media groups" and lamented that, "despite being founded by leading Islamists, CAIR has successfully portrayed itself as a mainstream Muslim organization over the past 15 years and has been treated as such by many U.S. Government officials."

Or most recently, an April 2009 advertisement in Weekly Standard authored by "American Muslims," applauded the FBI for rejecting CAIR. The signatories included representatives of six different organizations, and I submit a copy of the ad for the RECORD. The signatories wrote, "We observe that they (CAIR) denounce 'terrorism' in general terms, but not the specific actions of Islamic groups like Hamas or Hezbollah. They denounce violence, but not the ideologies behind it." Further, the group acknowledged CAIR's "attempts to chill free speech by calling critics of radical Islam 'Islamophobes.'"

#### AMERICAN MUSLIMS CONDEMN FBI FOR REJECTION OF CAIR

Thirty years have passed since the Boston revolution and 28 years since the first Islamist murder in the U.S.—that of 'Abd al-Aziz al-Hajj in a Washington, D.C., suburb. More than seven years ago, America received a wake-up call, on September 11, 2001, about radical Islam. However straightforwardly evil these events, they left U.S. authorities mostly baffled by extremism among American Muslims.

One disturbing example of this confusion has involved the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR).

Almost from CAIR's founding in 1994, the FBI has worked with the organization, which successfully presented itself as the "Muslim NAACP," letting CAIR train bureau personnel and serve as a liaison to the American Muslim community. CAIR concentrated on terror-related law enforcement such as sensitivity in investigating extremist suspects and allegations of profiling.

Now, at last, the FBI-CAIR relationship has changed.

In a letter dated March 5, 2009, FBI Assistant Director John Miller wrote to U.S. Rep. Frank R. Wolf (R-Va) confirming that the bureau has "suspended any formal engagement with Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) field offices around the country." He explained that this adjustment "comes in part as a result of evidence gathered through FBI investigation and presented in connection with the Holy Land Foundation trial. CAIR was listed as an unindicted co-conspirator in that case."

Miller referred to the Holy Land Foundation, or HLF, having been convicted of terror financing in November 2008.

CAIR and its allies in the "Wahhabi lobby" reacted aggressively to the FBI's decision to distance itself from CAIR. Ten extremist Muslim groups announced on March 17, 2009, that they are "considering suspending outreach relations with the FBI" based on vague claims that "American mosques and Muslim groups have been targeted." CAIR's supporters included American Muslims for Palestine, the Islamic Circle of North America, and the Muslim Students Association, as well as the leading pro-Iranian Muslim element in America, the Islamic Educational Center of Orange County, Ca.

We, the undersigned American Muslims, have long known the true character of CAIR and its allies. Therefore:

We observe that they denounce "terrorism" in general terms but not the specific actions of Islamist groups like Hamas or Hezbollah. They denounce violence but not the ideologies behind it.

We observe their commitment to radical aims, their attempts to chill free speech by calling critics of radical Islam "Islamophobes," and their false, ugly accusations against moderate American Muslims who disagree with their agenda.

We reject any claim that CAIR and its supporters are legitimate civil liberties advocates or appropriate partners between the U.S. government and American Muslims.

We congratulate the FBI for adopting a firmer attitude toward CAIR, as a defense of Americans of all faiths from the menace of radical Islam, including Muslims of all backgrounds—Sunni, Shia, Sufi, secular, etc.

We call on the U.S. Department of Justice to affirm and continue this decision.

We call on the entire United States government to follow suit in rejecting relations with the Council on American-Islamic Relations.

Dr. Kamal Eltay, President, Center for Islamic Pluralism, [www.islamicpluralism.org](http://www.islamicpluralism.org);  
Suzma Siddi, Assistant Director, Islamist Watch, [www.islamist-watch.org](http://www.islamist-watch.org);

M. Suhdi Jasser, American Islamic Forum for Democracy, [www.aifdemocracy.org](http://www.aifdemocracy.org);  
Imaad Malik, Fellow, Center for Islamic Pluralism;

Dr. Ahmed Subhy Mansour, International Quranic Center, [www.ahl-alquran.com](http://www.ahl-alquran.com);  
Khalim Maseoud, [reformislam@gmail.com](mailto:reformislam@gmail.com);  
Nawab Agha Mousvi, American Muslim Congress and Center for Islamic Pluralism;

Kiran Sayyed, Council for Democracy and Tolerance, <http://cfdnt.com/>;  
Stephen Suleyman Schwartz, Executive Director, Center for Islamic Pluralism;

Shia.Protest@yahoo.com;  
Dr. Jalal Zahedi, Southern U.S. Director, Center for Islamic Pluralism.

Finally, I would like to close my speech by recognizing the men and women of the FBI and the hard work they do every day to keep this country safe, and to restate the FBI's own words, "Until we can resolve whether there continues to be a connection between CAIR or its executives and Hamas, the FBI does not view CAIR as an appropriate liaison partner."

I completely agree.

**Congress of the United States**  
**Washington, DC 20515**

17 December 2009

The Honorable Robert Gates  
Secretary of Defense  
The Pentagon  
Washington, DC

Dear Secretary Gates:

It has come to our attention that the Department of Defense has invited Louay Safi, a top official at the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), to give lectures on Islam to our troops at Fort Hood. If this is indeed true, we respectfully request that you end this practice.

According to the Justice Department, ISNA is a prominent member of the Muslim Brotherhood, an organization with a network of known and suspected Islamic terrorist organizations spread throughout the world. The Brotherhood and its partner organizations regularly espouse violent jihad and anti-Semitism.

More specifically, ISNA was identified by the Justice Department at the successful Holy Land Foundation terrorism financing conspiracy trial as an unindicted co-conspirator. Literature distributed by ISNA at its annual convention in Washington in July featured books and pamphlets portraying prosecution of terrorist and terror-supporters as "anti-Muslim bigotry"; revisionist history that denied Arab and Palestinian terrorist attacks against Israel; and anti-Semitic tracts.

Safi himself has been connected to an entity called the "Safa Group." Search warrants executed in 2002 were supported by an affidavit alleging its involvement in moving large sums of money to terrorist fronts. He was also caught on a 1995 FBI wiretap of Sami al-Arian. Safi was concerned that an executive order, issued by President Clinton prohibiting financial transactions with terrorist organizations, would negatively effect al-Arian. In April 2006, al-Arian pled guilty to a charge of conspiring to provide services to the Palestinian Islamic Jihad – a specially designated terrorist organization.

The Muslim Brotherhood is dedicated in its own words to "a kind of grand Jihad in eliminating and destroying the Western civilization from within and 'sabotaging' its miserable house by their hands." What better way to carry out its plans to "sabotage" our efforts than to have one of its own invited to lecture on Islam to the very troops called to defend this country against those the Brotherhood supports. We ask that you immediately stop any lecturing by Louay Safi or ISNA affiliated speakers.

Sincerely,

  
W. Todd Akin  
Member of Congress

  
Sue Myrick  
Member of Congress

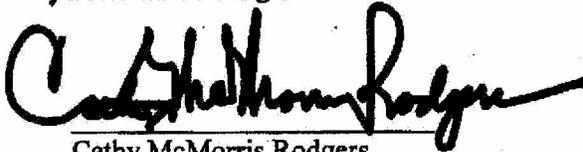




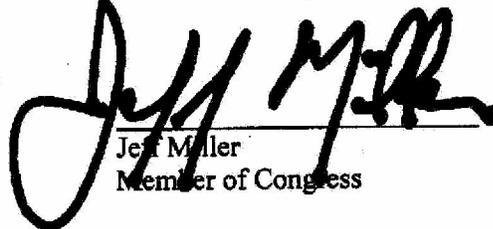
Trent Franks  
Member of Congress



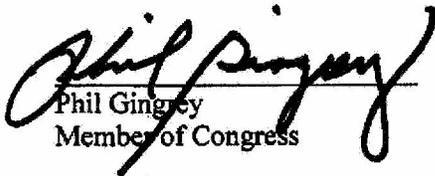
Todd Tiahrt  
Member of Congress



Cathy McMorris Rodgers  
Member of Congress



Jeff Miller  
Member of Congress



Phil Gingrey  
Member of Congress



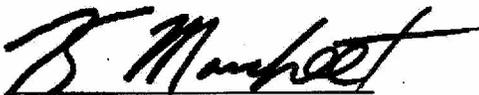
Paul C. Broun  
Member of Congress



Rodney Alexander  
Member of Congress



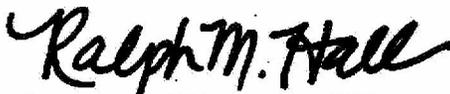
Steve King  
Member of Congress



Kenny Marchant  
Member of Congress



John B. Shadegg  
Member of Congress



Ralph M. Hall  
Member of Congress



**Council on American-Islamic Relations**  
453 New Jersey Avenue, S.E. Washington, DC 20003  
Tel 202.488.8787 Fax 202.488.0833 www.cair.com

March 10, 2010

Dr. Robert M. Gates  
Secretary of Defense  
1000 Defense Pentagon  
Washington, D.C. 20301-1000

Dear Secretary Gates:

**SUBJECT: Allegations of Bias-Motivated Harassment of Muslim Soldier at Fort Hood, Texas**

It is my unfortunate duty to bring to your attention allegations of bias-motivated harassment of a Muslim soldier stationed at Fort Hood, Texas.

Spc. Zachari Klawonn reports that he has experienced many incidents of religious discrimination during his 21 months of military service and that his complaints to superiors have not been acted on appropriately.

Spc. Klawonn reports numerous incidents of racial and religious slurs, verbal threats, vandalism to person property, denial of the right to pray, denial of the right to fast during the month of Ramadan, and denial of access to religious services.

Most recently, Spc. Klawonn alleges that someone pounded on the door of his room at 2 a.m. two weeks ago. When he opened the door, he found a note that read: "Fuck you rag head burn in hell."

Anyone serving our nation deserves to be treated with the utmost respect and should not be subjected to repeated harassment because of his or her faith or ethnic background. This is a serious issue that, if not dealt with in a timely and appropriate manner, could have a negative impact on the image of our nation's military.

I would therefore respectfully request that you order an investigation into these disturbing allegations and the response, or lack of it, from Spc. Klawonn's chain of command. I would also request that the Department of Defense review existing policies on religious harassment to ensure that they deal adequately with such situations.

One possible course of action would be a statement from your office discouraging religious harassment or discrimination, and specifically anti-Muslim actions and rhetoric by military personnel.

OSD 03036-10



WASHINGTON D.C.

ARIZONA CALIFORNIA CONNECTICUT FLORIDA GEORGIA ILLINOIS KENTUCKY MARYLAND MASSACHUSETTS MICHIGAN  
MISSOURI NEW JERSEY NEW YORK OHIO PENNSYLVANIA SOUTH CAROLINA TEXAS VIRGINIA WASHINGTON

Dr. Robert M. Gates

Page 2

March 10, 2010

For example, the often-reported use of the pejorative term "Hajji" as a pejorative in reference to Muslims is damaging to our nation's image and interests worldwide. Your statement could inform military personnel that the use of religious slurs such as "Hajji" and "rag head" would result in disciplinary action.

Thank you for your attention to this important matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Nadhira", written over the word "Sincerely,".

Nadhira Al-Khalili Esq.  
Legal Counsel



**Council on American-Islamic Relations**  
453 New Jersey Avenue, S.E. Washington, DC 20003  
Tel 202.488.8787 Fax 202.488.0833 www.cair.com

Greetings:

Please accept this gift of the Quran, Islam's revealed text, as an educational resource on the Islamic viewpoint on key issues of the day. The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) hopes that this will be a critical step in shedding light on the many misrepresentations of Islam that are prevalent today.

Our nation's president's inspiring and historic speech in Cairo promised a "new beginning" in America's relations with the Muslims worldwide based on mutual interests and mutual respect. CAIR applauds the spirit of this message and has taken this opportunity to launch *Share the Quran*, a project designed to reach out to opinion leaders and policymakers nationwide to enhance their understanding of Islam. For more information on this initiative, visit [www.explorethequran.com](http://www.explorethequran.com).

CAIR urged members of the American Muslim community to engage opinion leaders and policymakers by sponsoring a copy of the Quran through this program. Listed below is the contact information for the generous sponsor of your gift.

Please make this gift part of your reference library.

Sincerely,

State Senator (NC) Larry Shaw  
CAIR Board Chairman

Nihad Awa d  
CAIR Executive Director

**This educational gift is sent to you compliments of:**

Name

Address

City, State & Zip

OSD 02485-10





# National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA

475 Riverside Drive, Suite 800, New York, NY 10115-0050 | [www.nccusa.org](http://www.nccusa.org)  
Office of the General Secretary | P: 212-870-2025 | F: 212-870-3112 | E: [midnamon@nccusa.org](mailto:midnamon@nccusa.org)

April 26, 2010

Dr. Robert M. Gates  
Secretary of Defense  
1000 Defense Pentagon  
Washington, DC 20301-1000

Dear Mr. Secretary:

We are writing to express the concern of the National Council of Churches, and our partners in Iraq and throughout the world, about the on-going situation of violent attacks on minority groups in Iraq, including the Christian community. We strongly request that you raise this concern with the Government of Iraq, provincial authorities, and the leadership of the Coalition Forces, urging them to take all possible steps to prevent further incidents of this type.

Christians in Iraq have suffered more than a dozen violent deaths so far this year, including a three-year old child in Mosul who died on March 27 after a bomb, placed next to his family's home, exploded. As you know, thousands of Christians have been forced to flee their homes because of their fear of violence.

Our concern is now particularly acute because it is possible that tensions will increase as various political forces continue to vie for power following the recent elections. We fear that a growing climate of mistrust and animosity will further threaten the fragile Christian community.

With this in mind, we appeal to you to work directly and with Iraqis to

- protect minority groups, including Christians in Mosul and other parts of Iraq;
- extend necessary humanitarian aid to displaced families; and
- encourage the preservation of religious and ethnic diversity in Iraq.

Thank you for your attention to this most urgent concern.

Sincerely,

Rev. Michael Kinnamon  
General Secretary

Rev. Canon Peg Chamberlin  
President

Signed:

Bishop John F. White, Ecumenical and Urban Affairs Officer, African Methodist Episcopal Church  
Roy Medley, General Secretary, American Baptist Church, USA  
Bishop Charles Leigh, Apostolic Catholic Church  
Archbishop Vicken Aykazian, Legate of the Diocese of the Armenian Church of America  
Rev. Robert Welsh, President, Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)  
Stan Noffsinger, General Secretary, Church of the Brethren  
Bishop M. Mikhail, Ecumenical Officer, Coptic Orthodox Church in North America

OSD 05568-10



The Most Rev. Katharine Jefferts Schori, Presiding Bishop and Primate of the Episcopal Church  
The Rev. Mark S. Hanson, Presiding Bishop, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America  
Rev. Michael E. Livingston, Executive Director, International Council of Community Churches  
Rt. Rev. Dr. Geevarghese Mar Theodosius, Bishop, Diocese of NA and Europe, Mar Thoma Church  
Dr. Julius R. Scruggs, President of the National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc  
Thomas Swain, Clerk, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends  
Gradye Parsons, Stated Clerk, Office of the General Assembly, Presbyterian Church (USA)  
Doug Fromm, Associate for Ecumenical Relations, Reformed Church in America  
Metropolitan Christopher, Primate, Serbian Orthodox Church in North and South America  
Rev. Geoffrey Black, General Minister and President, United Church of Christ  
Bishop Sharon Zimmerman Rader, Ecumenical Officer of the Council of Bishops, United Methodist Church  
Rev. Dr. Stephen J. Sidorak, Jr., General Secretary, General Commission on Christian Unity and Interreligious Concerns, United Methodist Church

**ISLAMIC EDUCATION CENTER**

Telephone: (301) 340-2070 • (301) 340-8384  
Toll Free: 1(866) 486-1845  
Fax: (301) 424-5089



مرکز تعلیمات اسلامی واشنگتن

7917 Montrose Road, Potomac MD 20864  
E-mail: webmaster@iec-md.org  
www.iec-md.org

May 12, 2010

**To Whom It May Concern:**

Ms. (b)(6) is a member of the Ithna Asheria Shīa Muslim community. I am an administrator at the local Montgomery County Maryland community and was asked to write a letter on behalf of (b)(6) to emphasize the importance of wearing a scarf for women in our community.

As you may very well be aware, Islamic regulations require practicing Muslim females to adhere to an Islamic dress code which includes a scarf (Hijab) to cover their hair. This is intended as a measure of modesty and protection for women and basis for this obligation comes from the Holy Qur'an [24:31], "*And say to the women that they should lower their gaze and guard their modesty; that they should not display their beauty and ornaments except what (must ordinarily) appear; that they should draw their veils over their bosoms and display their beauty except to their husbands, their sons their brothers sons or their sisters' sons, or their women or slaves whom their right hands possess, or male servants free from physical needs, or small children who have no shame of sex*".

Wearing a scarf (hijab) is not a preference, rather for observing Muslim women it is a requirement. Therefore Ms. (b)(6) request to wear a scarf is an observance of her religious practice and not a personal choice of garments. As a devoted Muslim woman she is expected to wear a scarf as an obligatory requirement of her faith.

We appreciate your understanding and are grateful for your consideration. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact myself, or the center.

Regards,

Ali Mohammadi  
Administrator

# Hillside Christian Church

8330 East Douglas Avenue    Wichita, Kansas 67206    (316) 683-6577



May 26, 2010

Dr. Robert M. Gates  
Secretary of Defense  
Department of Defense  
1400 Defense Pentagon  
Washington, DC 20301-1400

Dear Dr. Gates:

On behalf of your home congregation, Hillside Christian Church, we would like to extend an invitation for you to be our guest speaker on "Laity Sunday." We generally have Laity Sunday in January, and can be flexible with any of the Sundays in 2011.

Certainly you have already and continue to make a mark in history. Perhaps the most well known of all people who have come through Hillside Christian Church. I am sure there are many wonderful stories you can share about you and your brother <sup>(b)(6)</sup> growing up in a Christian home and your family's involvement at Hillside Christian Church. I even understand that you were very active in Troop 522, which is still very active and one of the largest troops in this part of Kansas.

I shared with your mother that we would like to have you for Laity Sunday, but she tells me there may be a transition in your life. Regardless of where you are, or what you are doing in January, you remain our first choice. You grew up here, have represented your family and church well, and everyone is proud of your service to our country.

What Isabel doesn't know, is that we are planning to recognize her on that Sunday for her faithfulness to the Church. Your mother's faithfulness, loyalty and dedication are without question. She reared you boys at Hillside and then she and your father faithfully served at Mount Olive Christian Church, a new church start. When Mount Olive

William H. McConnell, D.Min.  
Senior Minister

Dakota B. Ehrick, B.S.  
Asso. Min. Child./Edn./Groups

Johanna Cole, B.A.  
Director of Family Ministries

Mark F. Walker, B.M.E.  
Director of Music

Janice M. Smith, B.S.  
Office Administrator

Susan V. German, B.S.  
Administrative Clerk

Fax: (316) 682-8302  
E-mail: [church@hill.org](mailto:church@hill.org)  
Web site: [www.hillside.org](http://www.hillside.org)

OSD 06935-10

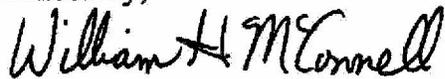
Hillside Christian Church is about connecting people to Jesus



closed, Isabel returned to Hillside in 1998 to immediately serve as a Trustee during a time of Hillside expanding its facilities. As a Trustee, she was relieved when Hillside retired its mortgage. The steadfast service of this 97 year old saint warrants recognition.

I have been the Senior Minister of Hillside Christian Church for twenty years and the discussion of this invitation has generated more excitement than I have seen around here. I understand busy schedules and we all understand if this is something that you just can't possibly do. However, we feel a homecoming is long overdue and await your response.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "William H. McConnell". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name.

William H. McConnell  
Senior Minister

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Council on American-Islamic Relations  
455 New Jersey Avenue, S.E. Washington, DC 20003  
Tel 202.488.5787 Fax 202.488.0833 www.cair.com



June 30, 2010

President Barack H. Obama  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW  
Washington, DC 20500

**SUBJECT: Request for Executive Order to Allow Hijab for Military Personnel**

Dear Mr. President:

I hope this letter finds you in the best of health and spirits.

As the America's largest Muslim civil rights organization, the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) seeks your help in ensuring that our nation's military personnel are offered the same religious rights granted to all citizens by the Constitution.

Captain (b)(6) (SS (b)(6)) has reported to CAIR that she has been threatened with court martial if she reports for duty at Walter Reed Army Medical Center wearing her religiously-mandated Islamic head scarf, or hijab, with her Army uniform.

CPT (b)(6) graduated with a medical degree from Uniformed Services University in Bethesda, Md., on May 15, 2010.

On June 2, 2010, CPT (b)(6) filed a "request for religious accommodation" with the commander of bravo company at Walter Reed Army Medical Center. (SEE attached Request for Religious Accommodation and supporting documentation.)

Yesterday, CPT (b)(6) brigade commander informed her that she could not wear hijab while in uniform and that she faced disciplinary action, including possible court martial, if she reported for duty while in uniform wearing hijab.

[Today CPT (b)(6) received a letter requesting temporary accommodation for religious dress from the Office of Soldier Readiness.]

Army Regulation 600-20 states:

- Religious headgear may be worn while in uniform if the headgear meets the following criteria:
1. The religious headgear is subdued in color (generally black, brown, green, dark or Navy blue, or a combination of these colors).
  2. The religious headgear is of a style and size that can be completely covered by standard military headgear.

WASHINGTON D.C.

ARIZONA CALIFORNIA CONNECTICUT FLORIDA GEORGIA ILLINOIS KENTUCKY MARYLAND MASSACHUSETTS MISSOURI NEW JERSEY NEW YORK OHIO PENNSYLVANIA SOUTH CAROLINA TEXAS VIRGINIA

OSD 07855-10



President Barack H. Obama

Page 2.

June 30, 2010

3. The religious headgear bears no writing, symbols, or pictures.
4. Wearing of the religious headgear does not interfere with the wear or proper functioning of protective clothing or equipment.
5. Religious headgear that meets these criteria is authorized irrespective of the faith group from which it originates.
6. Religious headgear will not be worn in place of military headgear under circumstances when the wear of military headgear is required (for example, when the Soldier is outside or required to wear headgear indoors for a special purpose).

United States Code, Title 10, Section 774 defines religious apparel while wearing an Army uniform. Section 774 states:

Religious apparel: wearing while in uniform

(a) General Rule.— Except as provided under subsection (b), a member of the armed forces may wear an item of religious apparel while wearing the uniform of the member's armed force.

(b) Exceptions.— The Secretary concerned may prohibit the wearing of an item of religious apparel—

(1) in circumstances with respect to which the Secretary determines that the wearing of the item would interfere with the performance of the member's military duties; or

(2) if the Secretary determines, under regulations under subsection (c), that the item of apparel is not neat and conservative.

(c) Regulations.— The Secretary concerned shall prescribe regulations concerning the wearing of religious apparel by members of the armed forces under the Secretary's jurisdiction while the members are wearing the uniform. Such regulations shall be consistent with subsections (a) and (b).

(d) Religious Apparel Defined.— In this section, the term 'religious apparel' means apparel the wearing of which is part of the observance of the religious faith practiced by the member.

Under United States Code, Title 10, Section 3061, "The President may prescribe regulations for the government of the Army."

In your historic address to the Muslim world last year in Cairo, you stated: "[F]reedom in America is indivisible from the freedom to practice one's religion. . . That is why the US government has gone to court to protect the right of women and girls to wear the hijab, and to punish those who would deny it." We applauded those remarks, as did many in the Muslim world.

I therefore respectfully request that CPT (b)(6) be allowed to wear her religiously-mandated head scarf while in uniform as outlined in the request for temporary religious accommodation from the Office of Soldier Readiness.

President Barack H. Obama

Page 3.

June 30, 2010

I also request that you issue an executive order clarifying the right of Muslim women in the United States military to wear religiously-mandated head coverings (hijab) based on Army Regulation 600-20, United States Code, Title 10, Section 774, and modeled on Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which requires employers to reasonably accommodate the religious practices of an employee unless doing so would create an "undue hardship."

This executive order could reflect the 2008 EEOC guidelines that offered protection for workers who wear religious attire such as hijab. [In 1997, President Bill Clinton implemented the Workplace Religion Policy, guaranteeing the right to wear hijab in the federal workplace.]

No American should be forced to choose between service to their nation and the right to freely practice their faith.

Thank you for your kind attention to this important matter.

Sincerely,



Nihad Awad  
CAIR National Executive Director

Cc: U.S. Defense Secretary Robert M. Gates

Attorney General Eric H. Holder, Jr.

Colonel James McGillivray, Office of Soldier Readiness

Colonel Gordon R. Roberts, Commander, Bravo Company, Walter Reed Army Medical Center

Rashad Hussain, Special Envoy to the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC)

# Berean Baptist Church

*"Preaching the Lord Jesus Christ  
Crucified, Buried, Risen, and Coming Again."*

Dr. Robert Evans  
Pastor

Phone:  
(251) 986-5162

Physical Address:  
24070 Highway 98  
Elberta, AL 36530

Mailing Address:  
P.O. Box 237  
Elberta, AL 36530

August 5, 2010

Dear Secretary Gates,

Because of your faithful public service, I would like to take the time to invite you to our ninth annual "Friend Day" on October 17, 2010, at 10:30 am. Each year, scores of public officials from the State of Alabama, as well as the Baldwin County area, have attended this event and have shown their support for the police, firefighters and public servants of the Baldwin County region.

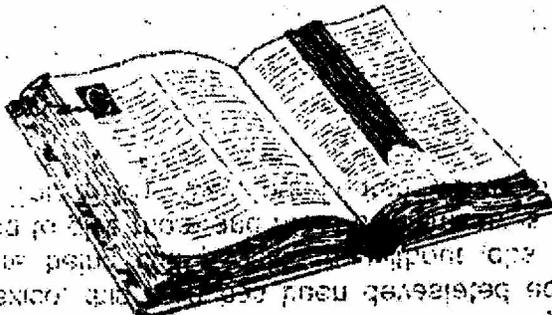
Due to the recent economic downturn, and even more so by the oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico, this area has been devastated economically. Police budgets are being cut, people are without jobs, and public servants are asked to give more and more of themselves without any benefit in return. This Friend Day, our church wants to honor you publically, give you a gift of appreciation, and show you and all our public servants how much they are appreciated.

Berean Baptist Church is located on Highway 98 in Elberta, just four miles east of Highway 59 and two miles east of the Foley Beach Express. Please call (251) 213-3816 or (251) 550-5422 to R.S.V.P or send your regrets. I hope to see you on Sunday, October 17<sup>th</sup>, for Friend Day, 2010.

Sincerely,

*Dr. Robert*

Dr. Robert Evans  
Pastor



OSD 09891-10

*"A Church That Really Cares About"*





9/10/10

RICHARD H. SOLOMON  
President

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I hope you will find of interest the attached just-published Institute volume highlighting how Muslims of good will are promoting a culture of peace and using effective conflict resolution techniques.

all best regards, Bob!

Dick Solomon

OSD 11178-10



# CRESCENT and DOVE

PEACE and  
CONFLICT  
RESOLUTION  
in ISLAM

QAMAR-UL HUDA, Editor

Preface by HRH Prince Ghazi bin Muhammad bin Talal

# CRESCENT and DOVE

*"Behind explosive headlines and horrific images of violence is a quieter story of ordinary Muslims around the world drawing on the same faith to build peaceful communities. Crescent and Dove: Peace and Conflict Resolution in Islam tells this story. Drawing upon case studies and expanding on existing theory, Qamar-ul Huda takes readers to the largely unknown world of Islam-inspired peacebuilding. The book gives us a rare window into the existing tools and resources inherent in Islam to resolve conflict and promote cooperation. No policymaker, development leader, or civil society worker engaging Muslim societies can afford to miss this book."*

— Dalia Mogahed, executive director of the Gallup Center for Muslim Studies

*Crescent and Dove* delves into the intellectual heritage of Islam to discuss historical examples of addressing conflict in Islam and exploring the practical challenges of contemporary peacemaking in Arab countries, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, and Indonesia. These essays address both theory and practice, presenting possibilities for nonviolent interventions, peacemaking, the implementation of human rights, the reinterpretation of texts, peace education instruction, and employing successful mediation, negotiation, and conflict resolution skills in an Islamic context.

As Muslim scholars and peacebuilding practitioners, the contributors offer critical perspectives on what works, what opportunities exist, and which areas are fertile for effective peacebuilding efforts. Their experience and analysis demonstrate that fostering a culture of peace in Muslim communities and building effective conflict resolution practices must occur within an Islamic framework and must engage Muslim leaders.

**Qamar-ul Huda** is a senior program officer in the Religion and Peacemaking Program and a scholar of Islam at the United States Institute of Peace. His areas of expertise are Islamic theology, comparative ethics, the language of violence, interfaith studies, and conflict resolution and nonviolence in contemporary Islam. He is an adjunct faculty member of Georgetown University's Conflict Resolution Program and has taught at Boston College, Brandeis University, and the College of Holy Cross.



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**The Islamic Senate**

June 23, 2009

President Barack Obama  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Ave. NW  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am enclosing a document for your review describing plans for a proposed program called, **The Islamic Senate**.

Since the US policy toward Al-Qaeda, Taliban and other Muslim extremist organizations is not working to the desired level and constantly facing difficulties including the loss of lives in Iraq and Afghanistan as well as other parts of the world, even where the US is not directly involved, I am proposing a plan which can be very helpful in getting the world Muslim population organized against all the terrorists and terrorist activities.

Muslims need a centralized legal body in order to help maintain order and enforcement of the religion's message and bi-laws. As it stands now, the Muslim population is very confused and fragmented. Since they consider Islam their way of life and continually practice it on a daily basis, they believe whatever they have been told by religious leaders and Mullahs who, in turn, are really not as educated as they should be and are more concerned on working towards their own agendas rather than educating the people of Islam.

Many Muslims are being given confusing messages relating to the interpretation of Koran and their responsibilities as Muslims. These wrong messages and confused information are what is giving terrorists an edge to get the support of the innocent Muslims around the world. My plan will be able to bring Muslim population on one platform in order to have a clear understanding of the faith as well as be more organized as a whole. It will be easier to deal with the Muslim population through one legal centralized governing body.

Mr. President, being of the Muslim faith, I have a great understanding of all of these problems and have been witnessing these bad religious practices by the Islamic leaders around the world all my life. Such activities by the Muslim leaders and Mullahs is only



causing suffering and unconstructive lives for many Muslims as well as other nations and religious sects costing them lives and property. It hurts me to see that so many innocent people in the world are being killed and tortured. For that reason I decided to speak out and ask for your help.

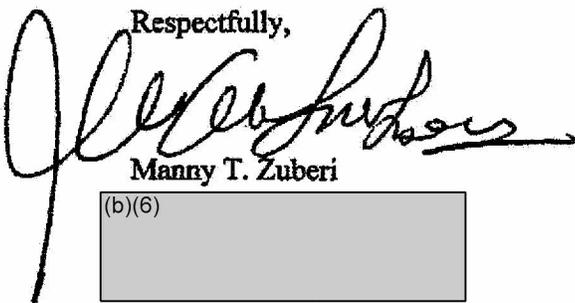
I am a businessman from Chicago practicing since 1978. During my several years of business travel, especially within Islamic countries, I have always seen people interested in finding ways that they could find peace and a good environment in which to raise their children & families while living comfortably within their own countries. However due to the unrest and misinterpretation throughout the Muslim world, it makes it hard for many to achieve their dreams or even see a possibility of doing so.

I really feel that with such a program in place we will be able to help guide the world Muslim population in such a way that they can not only achieve these dreams but also create a unity amongst the people of Islam. With your help, I am very sure that this project will work and the world Muslim population will be at peace. They will become more supportive for positive things and be shown the true intention of the religion and the positive aspects that should be focused on rather than the negativity that has caused such unrest and uncertainty up to this point.

I urge you to please consider the benefits of this program. I stand by it's positive intentions and potential outcome and would very much appreciate the opportunity to discuss it further with you.

If you require any additional details or information on my end, please let me know at any time.

Respectfully,



Manny T. Zuberi

(b)(6)



cc: Mr. David Axelrod/Senior Advisor, Senator John Kerry/Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Dick Durbin, Defense Secretary Robert Gates



**The Islamic Senate**  
**Center for Islamic Understanding**



## Concept

To solve the problem of Muslim “unrest” around the world and to help STOP the activities of Muslim extremist organizations such as Al-Qaeda and the Taliban in order to make the world a safer place, especially for the security of the United States, we will need the help of the world Muslim population. To accomplish this goal, I want to propose a program of forming an **Islamic Senate**. This organization will be able to provide Muslims around the world a centralized legal body which can serve as a nucleus for the religion to interpret its beliefs and teachings correctly and uniformly in order to relay the message and intention of the religion in its intended manner.

The Muslims around the world are very fragmented. They all have their own ideas on how to live life under Islamic rules which do not match with the real message the religion sets forth. **For example, Islam demands that a believer accept all of the Judeo-Christian prophets, making no distinction between them.** However, organizations such as Al-Qaeda, Taliban constantly preach their constituents to be against Jews & Christians and all other nations that are not Muslims. Such types of teachings are causing a distorted thought process which sometimes leads to several Muslims taking extremist actions. In their minds they believe that they are doing the right thing when in fact it is completely against the actual teachings of the religion and somebody has to establish rules for it. This is where the importance of Islamic Senate comes in.

The Islamic Senate is to be elected democratically and by doing so most Muslims around world will be much more willing to accept it. Since the Muslim population will be involved in the decision making process of electing the members of the Islamic Senate, they will follow the rules and regulations laid out by the Senate as they would not be pulled in several different ways from various religious organizations or local Mullahs. This will give them peace of mind, single minded thinking and the ability to practice their faith in a more respected and secured environment.

The Islamic Senate will be able to organize and regulate most Islamic activities in all of the Muslim countries around the world. Young Muslims will not be swayed by organizations such as Al-Qaeda and the Taliban to attempt suicide bombings and other killings for their own objectives. Regimes like Iran will have no support as all the Muslims will look toward their legal governing body called the Islamic Senate.



## **Background and Reason**

***In the recent history Islam has never had a centralized governing body that has ever served as its core purpose of organization and interpretation of the religion.***

For an average Muslim, their daily life is focused around their religion. Naturally there has to be a procedure that Islam can be practiced without being controlled, insulted and harassed under a civilized system. Islam is a highly educational and very easy religion to understand and follow, a fact that benefits the population in their way of life. Islam does not encourage Muslims to support fighting and killing but rather calls for peace on a daily basis at all times. It teaches people to think, be kind, be peaceful and work with the people you call enemies if the enemy is willing to work with you.

There is an extreme confusion among Muslims in their understanding of intention and portrayal when it comes to the religion. Among the 48 Islamic countries in the world, there are thousands of Mullahs and religious zealots who are guiding Muslims in the light of their own personal interpretations of the religion rather than it's original intention for their own personal objectives which is causing a tremendous amount of confusion and anguish as well as ignorance amongst the followers of the religion.

Unfortunately, religious leaders have misconstrued the actual meaning of the teachings and have presented this to an average Muslim in a way, which does not portray the true intention of the religion but rather a personal view of the leaders themselves.

When looked at from a basic standpoint, it is "the most logical faith with some of the most illogical followers" who is basically being misguided by the wrong teachings of the Mullahs and Illegal organizations around the world. To clear the confusion from the Islamic teachings and bringing most Muslims on one platform, the formation of the Islamic Senate & a Center for Islamic Understanding is very important.



## **Process and Implementation**

### **I. The Formation of an Islamic Senate.**

- a) The Islamic Senate will act as a governing body over all Islamic matters in the world concerning Muslims.
- b) Based on the US Senate system, we are to create an Islamic Senate comprised of TWO (2) delegates from each Islamic Country as elected by the Muslim population of their respective countries. The requirements for candidate must be that they are highly educated in the field of Islamic education with at least a related degree and a good understanding of Islamic Laws and Systems.
- c) The elections are to be held every five years in each Islamic country for the two seats of the Senators under the rules and the laws created by the Senate committee.
- d) The seat of the Islamic Senate will be in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, the hub of Islam.
- e) Islamic Senate will abide the laws of Saudi Arabia and will respect Saudi constitution. However, the Senate will have their own laws and the by laws for their members and their staff for their day to day operations.
- f) Islamic Senate will have the same position under Saudi laws as the United Nations has under the US laws.
- g) There will be a Senate president & a Vice President. One of the positions will always be held by a Saudi citizen who is a member of the Saudi Govt. who will only oversee and ensure the proper operation of the Senate.
- h) Both Men and Women will be able to run for a Senate seat.
- i) Every Islamic country will contribute for the Senate expenses and budget.



## **II. The Functions of the Senate**

- a) The Islamic Senate will convene on every 15<sup>th</sup> day of the 1<sup>st</sup> month (Muharram) of the year of the Islamic calendar and will be in session till the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> month (Ramadan) of the Islamic calendar after which time each delegate will return to their respective countries to ensure the proper implementation of the Senate's regulations.
- b) The first order of the inaugural Islamic Senate will be to work on the interpretation of the Koran. The extreme discrepancies in the understanding of the holy book for Muslims have to be corrected immediately in order to create a harmonious culture and understanding since every country's religious group has interpreted the Koran to their personal benefit and to gain an edge over innocent Muslims. The correct interpretation will STOP all support by the Muslim population in the world to wrong group such Taliban or Al-Qaeda. With this in place, there will be uniformity in thinking among all the Muslims.
- c) The formation of Islamic Senate will help organize the Muslim population in the world. It will be the duty of the Islamic Senate to make rules and regulations for Muslims to be peaceful and to not be lured into becoming a martyr by any terrorist organization to perform for their objectives.
- d) The Islamic Senate will help institute laws under the Islamic system in all Muslim countries whether the country's constitution is Islamic or Secular to eradicate poverty, inequality, injustice, equal opportunity for all, men, women and children taking the guidance from Koran. They will protect women rights, minority rights, and human rights which are violated immensely in all Islamic countries.
- e) Each country will follow the rules and regulations of the Islamic laws interpreted by the Senate. Governments of these Islamic countries cannot become involved in any of the religious laws and its interpretation. They can only implement it under Senate instruction. Each Islamic country will have the same system as far as religion is concerned.
- f) All the local Islamic organizations will be shut down by the each Country's Government. All religious activities will be



### **III. Benefits of the Senate**

- a) The US, Europe & other peaceful sections of the world will be secured and will be able to devote their energies and money to more productive projects.
- b) If a functioning body like this is installed properly, the entire Muslim world will be in peace.
- c) There will be no threats of terrorism since the Muslim population will not support it.
- d) It will be very easy to deal with the Muslim issues currently or in the future through one body in a peaceful manner. There will be no need to have wars or Military actions.
- e) There will be a tremendous saving of lives, property and money.
- f) The world will be at peace from the Muslim section.
- g) Organizations such as Al-Qaeda and Taliban or other organization (working under Al-Qaeda banner) that are or could be enemies of the US and other peaceful nations will have no support from the people as they will have a governing body who will be guiding them for their problems. They do not have look toward terrorist organizations to become a martyr.
- h) The US will be secured from the Muslims Terrorist activities.
- i) It will be a WIN-WIN for all and the start of a wonderful program to resolve the majority of the Muslim world's problems.



The Islamic Senate

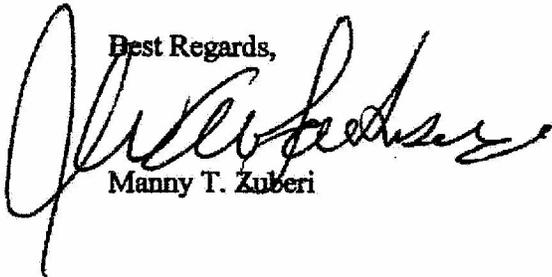
June 23, 2009

Dear Secretary Gates,

Enclosed, please find a copy of a proposal that I have sent to President Barack Obama for an Islamic Senate.

Your kind review would be highly appreciated.

Best Regards,



Manny T. Zuberi



The Islamic Senate 6231 N. Keeler Ave. Chicago, Illinois 60646 (847) 274-2481



**INTERFAITH  
ALLIANCE**  
PROTECTING FAITH AND FREEDOM

REV. DR. C. WELTON GADDOY  
President

August 13, 2009

Robert M. Gates  
Secretary of Defense  
U.S. Department of Defense  
1400 Defense Pentagon  
Washington DC 20301-1400

Dear Secretary Gates,

As you are aware, two former employees of the private military contractor Blackwater (now known as Xe Services, LLC) have accused the firm and its founder, Erik Prince, of being motivated by anti-Muslim religious fervor. According to sworn affidavits in a federal court in Virginia, these employees allege that Mr. Prince "views himself as a Christian crusader tasked with eliminating Muslims and the Islamic faith from the globe."

I have been deeply concerned with the religious undertones of the war in Iraq since its beginning. These latest revelations about Blackwater raise those concerns to an entirely new level. To discover that an agent of the U.S. government has been accused of undertaking a campaign of murder based on "Christian supremacy" is appalling. This way of thinking represents neither our mission in Iraq nor the spirit of our Constitution.

Our military, our diplomats and their contractors must represent themselves and our nation without reference to their religion or their lack of religion. As any true patriot of our nation, I grieve over the damage done to the credibility of the United States in the international community by even the report of such a charge, much less the rhetoric and action that evoked the charge.

Thankfully, our court system will deal justly with the alleged crimes committed by Mr. Prince and his associates. However, that assurance of justice does not absolve our government from taking steps necessary to protect our nation's reputation abroad and prevent this type of incident – religion-based divisiveness and hate – from occurring in the future. We cannot accept merely a response to this situation stating that these actions already violate U.S. policy. Clearly, those policies have not prevented Blackwater from carrying out its religious crusade.

I request that a formal investigation of all contractors be implemented immediately to ensure similar behavior is not ongoing. I also strongly recommend that language be added to future contracts prohibiting such acts and behavior. Finally, I recommend that both the Department of State and the Department of Defense implement training designed to prevent the intentional insertion of religious doctrine into a U.S. military engagement abroad.

OSD 09167-09



I make these requests with strong convictions about what this incident has done to damage the integrity of religion, to further divide our nation from major segments of our international neighborhood and to harm understandings about the nature of our government as well as important initiatives of our military forces.

Interfaith Alliance stands ready to assist you in this important work. I look forward to meeting with you or your designee at your earliest convenience to discuss our recommendations.

Sincerely,



Rev. Dr. C. Welton Gaddy  
President

CC: Hillary Rodham Clinton, Secretary of State  
Admiral Michael Mullen, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

# Bethel College University

The Cumberland Presbyterian College

Physics and Computer Science

135 Como Street  
McKenzie, Tennessee 38201  
October 25, 2009

The Honorable Dr. Robert Gates  
Secretary of Defense  
The Pentagon  
Washington, D.C. 20301

Dear Dr. Gates:

You are an intelligent experienced public servant. I am a 70-year-old (now) University professor still teaching full time.

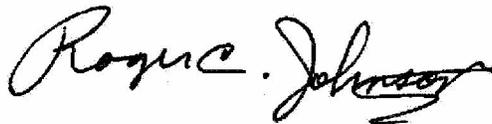
Historically, the crusade wars of Christians against Muslims took place from about 1095 to 1291 A.D. Many people died and much hate was created between the two groups that still exists today.

Look at the religious make up of the following countries:

<b>Afghanistan</b>	<b>about 99% Muslim</b>
<b>Iran</b>	<b>about 98% Muslim</b>
<b>Iraq</b>	<b>about 97% Muslim</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>about 97% Muslim</b>
<b>United States of America</b>	<b>about 76% Christian</b>

We, The United States of America, do not need to continue the crusades of Christians against Muslims. Sending more troops to Afghanistan will not make America safe or promote world peace. We do need to encourage non-governmental humanitarian groups to educate the uneducated, heal the sick and feed the hungry.

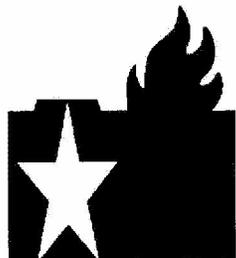
Sincerely,



Roger C. Johnson, Ph.D.  
Professor of Physics and Computer Science  
Bethel University  
[johnsonr@bethelu.edu](mailto:johnsonr@bethelu.edu)

OSD 12760-09





**AMERICANS  
UNITED**

*for Separation of  
Church and State*

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December 18, 2009

Robert M. Gates, Secretary  
United States Department of Defense  
1400 Defense Pentagon  
Washington, DC 20301-1400

**Re: Tabernacle Baptist Church program at Fort Leonard Wood,  
Missouri**

Dear Secretary Gates:

We sent the attached letter regarding the "Free Day Away" program at Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri to the Acting Inspector General of the Department of Defense on July 23, 2008. The letter explained that Free Day Away, a program of the Tabernacle Baptist Church of Lebanon, Missouri, violates the U.S. Constitution because it results in coercion of soldiers to participate in church services. The Free Day Away, one of only two days off available to soldiers undergoing basic training at Fort Leonard Wood (the other is the day before graduation, which is generally spent with family and guests), includes recreational programs such as bowling, free food, and a compulsory church service at which soldiers are told that they are all sinners who "must be saved now or go to hell."

On August 12, 2008, Leonard Trahan, Jr., Director of the Defense Hotline, sent a letter to Americans United stating that an inquiry about the complaint would be conducted under Hotline case number 107973. As of December 14, 2009, the investigation was still open, and the Department of Defense Hotline was not able to provide any other information.

On July 26, 2008, the Commanding General of the U.S. Army issued the attached memorandum regarding "Guidance for Initial Entry Training (IET) Soldier Participation in Events Sponsored by Religious Organizations." This memorandum specified that "[w]hen IET Soldiers are offered the opportunity to participate in activities or programs sponsored by a religious organization, . . . they will be offered secular 'personal time' alternatives if they decide not to participate. Personal time activities will not include barracks maintenance or similar activities that offer Soldiers no meaningful choice."

We understand that the Free Day Away program has been renamed "The Tabernacle Baptist Church Retreat," and that soldiers undergoing basic training at Fort Leonard Wood are now told that the program is optional. While these changes lessen the coercive nature of the program, we are concerned that soldiers would still be coerced to participate if there were no secular alternative that provides comparable benefits to the Church Retreat. Our understanding is that the only "secular alternative" offered to soldiers is free time at Fort Leonard Wood. Soldiers

*Your voice in the battle to preserve religious liberty*

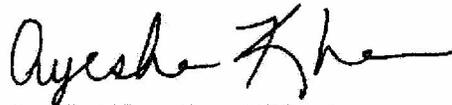
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who opt not to participate in the Church Retreat thus have no opportunity to leave the base or enjoy recreational activities such as bowling or free food. If that is so, presenting soldiers with such a choice still coerces them to participate in religious activities in violation of the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. *See Santa Fe Indep. Sch. Dist. v. Doe*, 530 U.S. 290, 312 (2000) (prayer at high-school-football games was coercive, although attendance was voluntary, because the school could not “exact religious conformity from a student as the price’ of joining her classmates at a varsity football game” (citation omitted)); *Lee v. Weisman*, 505 U.S. 577, 587, 595 (1992) (prayer at high-school graduation gives students “no alternative but to submit” to the prayer); *Mellen v. Bunting*, 327 F.3d 355, 371-72 (4th Cir. 2003) (holding that mealtime prayer at a public military college coerced cadets into participating in a religious exercise even though the prayer was technically voluntary).

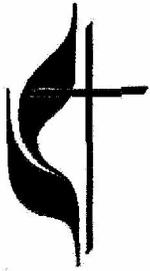
Accordingly, we ask that you investigate the “secular alternatives” to the Tabernacle Baptist Church Retreat that are offered to soldiers undergoing basic training at Fort Leonard Wood. If there are no secular alternatives that offer benefits comparable to those of the Church Retreat and, thus, give soldiers a true choice as to whether to participate in religious activity, we ask that you take steps to give soldiers a comparable secular alternative. For example, the constitutional problem could be solved by providing soldiers who do not participate in the Church Retreat transportation to a town that offers recreational opportunities similar to that of the Retreat. If it is not possible to create a comparable secular alternative, we ask that you discontinue the Church Retreat. Because of the importance of this matter, please respond to this letter within 60 days. Thank you for your consideration, and feel free to contact Taryn Wilgus Null at (202) 466-3234 or [null@au.org](mailto:null@au.org) if you have any questions.

Sincerely,



Ayesha Khan, Legal Director  
Alex Luchenitser, Senior Litigation Counsel  
Taryn Wilgus Null, Madison Fellow

cc: John McHugh, Secretary  
United States Army  
1400 Defense Pentagon  
Washington, DC 20301-1400



## North Carolina Conference of The United Methodist Church

1307 Glenwood Avenue; P.O. Box 10955  
Raleigh, North Carolina 27605  
1-800-849-4433 or 919-832-9560 • FAX 919-834-7989

*Sue Ellen Nicholson*, Director of Children, Youth and Young Adult Ministries  
Extension 253; Email: [senicholson@nccumc.org](mailto:senicholson@nccumc.org)

Each year in July, for the past 58 years, high school students from United Methodist Churches across eastern North Carolina have gathered for an event called ACS, Annual Conference Session for Youth. One significant part of ACS is legislative affairs. In legislative affairs sessions, youth write resolutions on current issues that concern them. The youth are responsible for researching and writing the resolutions. The resolutions are then presented to the total group and debated with a vote taken for final action on the resolution. Copies are then sent to those in positions of leadership or public authority to respond to or do something about the issue/concern addressed in the resolution. You are named to receive the enclosed resolution that has been passed by the 58th Annual Conference Session of the United Methodist Youth Fellowship of the North Carolina Conference of the United Methodist Church. We would be pleased to hear of any follow-up action or response on your part to this issue/concern. There is an ongoing resolutions committee that works with our Legislative Affairs Person in oversight of this process throughout the year.

On behalf of the NC Conference United Methodist Youth :

	2008-2009 Officers	2009-2010 Officers
President:	James Van Staalduinen	Hannah McMillan
Secretary:	Allison Soukup	Jolean Brann
Legislative Affairs Person:	Ben Lord	Tory Soukup

Thank you for your attention to this!

*Sue Ellen Nicholson*

OSD 09833-09



*Mission Statement: Making disciples for Jesus Christ...Equipping local churches for ministry...Providing a connection for ministry.*